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CPSU CC Secretary Zaykov Arrives 12 Sep

AU1209112688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, arrived on 12 September in Bulgaria on a working visit.

At Sofia airport he was greeted by Comrades Grisha Filipov and Dimitur Stanishev; Ivan Panev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee; responsible associates of the BCP Central Committee; Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria; and other officials.

Tsanov Receives Komi ASSR CPSU Delegation

AU0909142288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 6

[Text] On 7 September Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a Soviet delegation led by Vladimir Melnikov, first secretary of the Komi ASSR Oblast CPSU Committee.

During the conversation information was exchanged on the fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party conferences and on the restructuring processes under way in all fields of sociopolitical life.

Special attention was paid to the cooperation between the People's Republic Bulgaria and the Komi ASSR and to the problems of direct production links and joint Bulgarian-Soviet trusts.

Nikol Tsonev, first secretary of the Lovech Oblast BCP Committee, and other responsible party and economic officials took part in the meeting.

Zhivkov Attends 9 September Reception

AU0909192588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Today the BCP Central Committee, State Council, and Council of Ministers gave a reception in the Boyana Residence in Sofia to mark the 44th anniversary of the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria.

The reception was attended by members of the party and state leaderships, led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council; veterans of the revolutionary struggles of the party and people; front-rankers from the field of production; figures from science, culture, and the arts; public figures; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. Also present were chiefs and members of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria.

The reception took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

NATO Radioelectronic Surveillance Viewed

AU0909070488 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Major General Lyuben Georgiev, candidate of technical sciences: "Radioelectronic Intelligence Against Us and We Against It"]

[Text] In accordance with the materials and decisions of the 16th All-Army BCP Conference, high efficiency in building up the Bulgarian People's Army should be ensured mainly through improving the quality parameters of personnel and the material-technical base and perfecting organizational structures and the alert performance of combat duty. In spite of the positive trends toward detente in the international situation, the forces of imperialism have not renounced their aims of achieving a social revanche through obtaining military superiority over the countries of the socialist community and the Soviet Union. One of the indicators of this is the existence of an entire system of intelligence services in the NATO countries; these have at their disposal an immense system of electronic intelligence means, whose operation is strictly coordinated within the NATO bloc. According to the foreign press, over 2,000 radio and radiotechnical surveillance posts are in round-the-clock operation near the borders of the socialist countries. These posts monitor the radioelectronic situation in all frequency ranges. Powerful radio intelligence centers are deployed and continuously being updated on the territories of England, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Norway, and so on. A large number of these centers are installed in ships and submarines, aircraft, special-purpose balloons, automobiles, and armored vehicles. An entire range of satellite surveillance systems are in operation that transmit intelligence information to the relevant centers practically on a real-time basis. Information is published that the NATO countries also use for intelligence purposes a wide agent network, in the guise of diplomatic and commercial representatives, tourists, and so on, who are equipped with the most modern equipment. According to information in U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, published in Washington, the U.S. National Security Agency alone employs over 20,000 people to collect and process intelligence information, and has an annual budget in excess of $1.3 billion. For intelligence purposes use is made of radio, radiotechnical, radar, infra-red, television, and optical equipment (including lasers), in which the latest achievements of radio electronics, microelectronics, and computers are applied. Land- and ship-based radio surveillance centers equipped with highly sensitive radio receivers, antennas with high gain and front-to-rear factors, and modern radio direction finders enable the parameters of radio signals over the entire shortwave frequency band to be recorded and analyzed and the locations of the radio transmitters sending them to be determined. From the relevant tell-tale features of the

radio transmitters or the "handwriting" of individual radio telegraphists, experienced radio operators can determine the transmitting station against the background of hundreds of others, even if the operating frequencies are changed. Such tell-tale features include a characteristic tone in the operation of a particular transmitter, resulting from spurious modulation or insufficient frequency stability; the use by telegraphists of unpermitted code abbreviations; or the sending of the morse symbols with the dots and dashes, or the gaps between them, of nonstandard length. A rich source of intelligence is provided by radio conversations en claire between relevant persons in official posts without observing the requirements concerning the secret control of troops or in violation of these requirements. Modern radio receivers used in surveillance monitor wide frequency ranges and record and analyze the structure of every new transmission. When a given radio station is operated on the move, one can easily determine its entire route and its new location. The longer the radio transmitters send out signals, the greater is the probability of their discovery by the enemy radio intelligence, and the more precisely can their positions be determined.

Transmissions from radio stations, radio relay stations and stations in the troposphere in the ultrashortwave, decimeter, and centimeter wavelength ranges can be intercepted by surveillance centers within the relevant reception range. In the case of radio surveillance centers mounted in aircraft or on balloons, transmissions are recorded and analyzed at distances of hundreds of kilometers. For this reason, when using ultrashortwave communications channels, radio stations, radio relay stations and troposphere stations should bear in mind and strictly observe the requirements relating to security of communications.

During a special tactical exercise conducted by the unit in which officer Stoyanov is serving, the radio relay stations were deployed in direct proximity to and in the area of the control post, with antennas extended to the maximum height. They transmitted at full power, in spite of the fact that the distance to the receiving stations permitted operation at reduced power. The command staff of the unit also failed to take into account the tell-tale signs of the radio relay stations with regard to the "enemy's" visual and radio surveillance, as well as the abilities of modern weapons to destroy them by homing in on the transmissions from these stations. In a combat situation, such stupidity and violations in deploying and utilizing radio electronic equipment can have most serious consequences for troop control and place the lives of personnel at risk.

Experience from local wars shows that modern radioelectronic surveillance means permit one not only to determine the route and direction of movement of columns of vehicles and equipment on a real time basis, but even to determine the exact number of vehicles. This is achieved by locating transmitting devices in the vicinity of the routes, using reconnaissance groups, aircraft, or helicopters. These devices are automatically activated by sensors that react to ground vibrations from vehicle movement (seismic sensors), sound vibrations in the air, when the vehicles pass in the vicinity of the device (acoustic sensors), or changes in the earth's magnetic field caused by the mass of the metal composing the equipment and other physical fields. The automatic surveillance device transmits brief bursts of signals, which also include the number of the device in coded form.

According to reports in the open Western press, in order to detect and trace the movement of columns of combat vehicles and military equipment use is also made of technical complexes that receive and take the bearings of radiations from the ignition systems of internal combustion engines. If the necessary measures are not taken to screen the ignition system, the pulse power of these radiations can be of the order of tens and hundreds of watts, and they can be recorded and bearings taken on them at great distances.

One of the principal sources of intelligence information are telephone conversations on radio relay and troposphere communications channels, when the duty personnel using them and the signals specialists that organize and operate them, because of lack of discipline or inadequate professional competence, permit deviations from the regulations and requirements for security of communications. The dangers that arise from incorrect and uninformed use of communications equipment are real and extremely great. They relate not only to the leakage of secret information of military and state importance, but also to determining the composition, structure, and location of the organs and system of control, direct or indirect discovery of forthcoming measures and when they will be carried out, and the creation of conditions for carrying out radio disinformation, especially in communications lines and channels that operate en claire.

A number of duty personnel hold the opinion that the probability of eavesdropping on conversations taking place on cable communication lines is extremely slight. This view is erroneous, since such eavesdropping is within the capacities of modern surveillance equipment. A large proportion of the channels in cable communications lines are obtained by consolidating these channels using high-frequency apparatus with a small or large number of channels. Accordingly, the cable communications lines, in addition to serving as a medium for conveying electromagnetic energy between the former apparatus, also themselves act as antennas that radiate part of this energy. This enables the conversations on such lines to be overheard at a distance without any direct connection to the line, using not particularly complex apparatus. On the other hand, if the parameters of certain underground multipair communications cables deteriorate because of many possible factors, the

communications lines within the cables can strongly interact with one another, leading to mutual overhearing of the conversations carried on the lines.

The wide use of computer equipment in management, the economy, and the military field has prompted the creation of a business in the leading capitalist states in the sphere of the development and production of special apparatus for detecting information entered in the memories of computer centers and individual machines, as well as when the information is transmitted along communications lines. The problem of protecting this data is becoming more and more complex, not only in the field of industrial espionage, but also in the military field. The reason lies in the radiations both from the computers themselves and in the communications channels and apparatus, if the necessary measures are not taken or if these measures are contravened.

From the foregoing information one may reach the conclusion that the warning carried on radiocommunications equipment—"Caution: The enemy is listening in!"—is particularly topical and should be posted in many more places and on many more items of equipment. The achievements in the sphere of radioelectronic surveillance nowadays are such that a well-located antenna or device can equal dozens of spies or commandos in its effects. Given the furious rates of development of radio electronics, the need for vigilance will remain an empty letter, a mere desire, unless, in addition to ideological and educative work, we systematically and consistently improve the level of training of the entire personnel regarding the possibilities and channels for the leakage of information that is a military or state secret, as well as the means for protecting this information.

Peru Premier del Campo Receives Balev
AU0809183688 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 8 Sep 88

["Advancement of Bulgaro-Peruvian Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Lima, September 8 (BTA)—Mr. Milko Balev, member of Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, member of the State Council of Bulgaria and chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Standing Committee, who is on an official visit in Peru at the invitation of the ruling party Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) and the Peruvian Government, was received by Mr. Armando Villanueva del Campo, prime minister. Matters connected with the further advancement of the Bulgaro-Peruvian relations in all spheres were discussed in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

Stanishev Speaks on Rakovski Anniversary
AU0909094688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Sep 88 p 2

[Speech by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at a festive meeting held on 6 September in Sofia to mark the 115th anniversary of Krustyu Rakovski's birth: "Our Contemporary, a Consistent Marxist-Leninist, Revolutionary, Politician, and Diplomat"]

[Text] Comrades, the victorious historical truth restored the name and deeds of Krustyu Rakovski to the BCP, to the CPSU, and to the international communist and and workers movement.

In celebrating the 115th anniversary of his birth today, we contemplate with admiration and reverence the stormy and tragic life of this distinguished Bulgarian, proletarian revolutionary and internationalist, who was an outstanding figure of our Bulgarian, Balkan, and international socialist and communist movement, one of Lenin's most brilliant fellow workers, who built the solid foundations of the Soviet state.

The name Krustyu Rakovski was silently passed over over throughout several years. For this reason, it is appropriate today to briefly describe the events of his remarkable and unusual life.

Born in the town of Kotel, in 1873, he was raised with the ideas of the national liberation movement, and by adopting the family name Rakovski, he not only stressed his blood relationship with the great Bulgarian revolutionary, to whom he was related on his mother's side, but also his ideological affinity with this ancestor.

Krustyu Rakovski joined the organized socialist movement in the early 1890's an epoch in which Marxism not only conquered the minds and hearts of the progressive intelligentsia and of the mass workers party, but also spread beyond the European borders. The early contact with Marxist thought and with the original works of the two founders of scientific socialism—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels—as well as the enthusiasm, idealism, and devotion of the first propagandists of Marxist literature in Bulgaria was the fertile soil on which a whole generation of Bulgarian socialists, including Rakovski, was educated. He combined democratic spirit with the national revivalist atmosphere within his family, and admiration and reverence for the brilliant figures of the past, such as G.S. Rakovski, G. Mamarchev, and Khristo Botev and the ideas of the Bulgarian national liberation revolution with the ideas of scientific socialism. A statement made by Georgi Bakalov applies to a great extent to Krustyu Rakovski. It reads: "Because pre-Marxist, (namely bourgeois nationalistic) tradition did not exist in our country, it was quite easy for us to take a leap leading directly to Marxism." As for Rakovski, since his very early youth he consciously and purposefully devoted himself to Marxism.

The most important event in which he participated as a pupil of the Aprilov secondary school in Gabrovo, was the translation, publication, and propagation of the first Engels book in Bulgaria—"the Development of Scientific Socialism."

Rakovski experienced a higher, new stage in his ideological development during his higher studies first in Geneva. As one of his contemporaries once said: "In Geneva you could be affected by socialism, not from small, murky waters, but by drinking from the very source." In Geneva Rakovski communicated with the leaders of the Russian Marxist group, which called itself the "Labor Liberation Group." He was their "favorite", to cite Vera Zasulich; he was received at Plekhanov's home and inner circle; and he befriended distinguished leaders, such as Jules Gedes, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Paul Lafargue, Rosa Luxemburg, and others. However, when we point out the main and decisive element of Rakovski's further ideological and political development, we should mention his acquaintance with Vladimir Ilich Lenin. The Bulgarian social democratic students' group of which he was a member became an important link connecting the Bulgarian socialists with the Russian and European social democratic movement.

The Geneva period greatly contributed to Rakovski's theoretical and practical education in socialism. His first practical actions on the international scene and in Bulgaria confirmed the ideological development of the young Bulgarian socialist.

Rakovski adopted a stand on one of the most topical questions of the socialist movement at the beginning of the nineties. This was the struggle against anarchism. He sided with the revolutionary social democrats and denounced the tactics of the anarchists at the International Socialist Congress in Zurich, in 1893, and at the Geneva Students' Congress held in the same year, as well as in his writings published in Bulgaria.

Rakovski was also in favor of settling the problem of mutual relations between intellectuals and manual workers, and the issue of the role and place of the intelligentsia in the joint struggle for socialism. He personally contributed to the successful solution of these questions in the spirit of Engels' ideas on the fundamental alliance between the intelligentsia and the proletariat.

Rakovski's participation in international discussions, his personal acquaintance with Friedrich Engels, with whom he had close relation in 1893, were of considerable importance for the development of his concept on political struggle and on the political party of the proletariat—one of the crucial issues of Marxism and most topical for the Bulgarian socialists in those days. While in 1891, together with the Geneva students socialist group, and from a distance, Rakovski opposed the imminent establishment of a party, toward the end of 1893 he gradually became convinced and drew closer to Dimitur Blagoev's concept about the necessity of purely political activities in defense of the workers, even in backward Bulgaria. Rakovski's first meeting with Blagoev took place in 1892, and this marked the beginning of their friendship and joined party activities. Following the establishment of an alliance between party supporters and unionists in 1894, Rakovski actively joined party life and defended the party cause in the daily SOCIALIST, as well as in party publications, also participating in delegations of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party at socialist international congresses. Rakovski contributed most actively to the Bulgarian socialist periodical press with correspondent's reports, theoretical papers, and articles which are part of the treasury of Bulgarian Marxist thought.

It is a well-known fact that he was the initiator of a historical correspondence between the young Bulgarian socialist movement and Friedrich Engels.

Let us recall Dimitur Blagoev's evaluation expressed in "Contribution": "Socialism in Bulgaria is greatly indebted to Krustyu Rakovski." According to Blagoev, his writings represent a "...most effective weapon of theoretical and practical struggle against the enemies of socialism."

Krustyu Rakovski also earned great credit for his contribution to Romanian socialist movement, particularly in the 1905-1917 period, during which, with some interruptions, he lived in Mangalia. With his active participation in the Romanian workers movement, he contributed to the theoretical and ideological defeat of the Romanian nationalists and anarcho-syndicalists, and to the compilation of programmatic documents for the Romanian Social Democratic Party. Thus, he became one of the most popular and authoritative leaders of the Romanian workers movement in those days.

During the same period he practically entertained relations with socialists all over the Balkan peninsula. During the Second International he truly embodied the presence of Balkan social democracy by his active participation in the congresses of 1893, 1896, 1900, and 1904 as Bulgarian delegate, and in 1904 he was entrusted a mandate as Serbian delegate, while in 1907 and 1910 he represented Romania. In 1915, at the insistence of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Kirkov, he was elected President of the Inter-Balkan Bureau of the Balkan Workers Social Democratic Federation.

Rakovski's development as a Balkan and European figure was strongly marked by his antiwar activities and views, especially in the years of World War I. The unanimity of thought and action between him and Vladimir Ilich Lenin manifested itself during those days in particular. As soon as war was declared, Rakovski denounced its imperialist character and actively worked for the elaboration of a joint, Balkan, antiwar, social-democratic platform, in order to save the still neutral Balkan states from getting involved in the military conflagration, to seek cooperation among socialists in

neutral European countries, and he personally contributed to the organization of two conferences of the Zimmerwald antiwar movement between 1915 and 1916.

In the pamphlet "Awakening of the International," published in Bern in 1916, Rakovski for the first time mentioned the need for a new International, for a definite break from the opportunism of the old leaders. In this pamphlet he stated: "Those who, until yesterday, were the most authoritative champions of class theory . . . and taught us this theory, are now attacking the essence of our philosophy and try to involve us in the nationalist cause. . . However, the proletariat does not stop midway solely because those who were its heroes in the past have now abandoned it."

Comrades, among the leading figures of our history who embodied the profound and indissoluble links between the Bulgarian and Russian revolutionary movement, Krustyu Rakovski has a special place. He contributed to the journals of the Petersburg "legal Marxists." He gave moral and material support to the publication of the daily ISKRA, and contributed to its first issue with an article commissioned by Lenin. Together with Georgi Bakalov, he regularly provided Bulgarian passports for the Russian revolutionaries and emigres. His father's home in Mangalia became an important center of the most reliable underground channel for Russia. Rakovski earned great credit in the rescuing of the sailors from the battleship "Potemkin."

Rakovski's brilliant Marxist training, his organizational talent and energy manifested themselves most brightly during the Civil War and in building the foundations of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Released from prison in Yash by Russian soldiers after the February 1917 revolution, he joined the Bolveshiks and Lenin in person, in whom he saw the embodiment of a strength capable of implementing his own ideals in real life.

Rakovski revered Lenin's genius and he saw in him his only teacher, a "unique successor" of Marxism in the new era, as he wrote in an article after Lenin's death and in a book that he wrote together with N. Bukharin, under the title: "Lenin as a Marxist," which was issued in 1925. During the first years he spent in the Soviet Union he already worked in close cooperation with Lenin and under his direct leadership. At that time Rakovski asserted himself as a functionary with a Leninist style and method of work, to which he remained loyal until the end of his activities as a statesman and party leader.

In March 1919 Rakovski wholeheartedly supported Lenin in the struggle to establish the Third Communist International. He represented the Bulgarian and Romanian parties and the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation, and together with a group of delegates he supported the proposal to disband the Zimmerwald Movement, signing the documents on behalf of the Bulgarian socialists for the establishment of the new International. As the only one among the founding members in Moscow who had known Friedrich Engels personally, in Zurich in 1893 Rakovski embodied the traditions and the living link between the old and new era of the international workers movement.

Unlike most foreign leaders, Rakovski's main field of activity was not the Comintern, but the Soviet state and the Bolshevik party. At the Eighth Congress in March 1919 he was elected a member of the Central Committee. From 1919 to 1923, at Lenin's personal recommendation, he was elected chairman of the People's Commissars Council for the Ukraine. Thus, Rakovski became the leader of the second largest Soviet Republic, with a population of over 30 million people and tremendous material resources. Following the hard struggle against intervention and the White Guard troops, as well as against innumerable gangs which terrorized the Ukraine until 1920, the government under Rakovski's leadership successfully promoted measures for the consolidation of Soviet power and for involving the left-wing Ukrainian parties in cooperating with the Soviets. Most of all, the government conducted a policy in favor of the majority of the Ukrainian population, namely, the peasants. When Rakovski was accused of leniency and compromise by certain left-wing Bolsheviks, Lenin came to his defense and declared at the Ninth Congress: "Comrade Rakovski has brilliantly implemented the line of the party's Central Committee."

The Bolsheviks had to face numerous difficulties in the first years of Soviet power. Those were years of search and experiment, of ideological confrontation within the party itself, within the mass organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, and the press—all things about which Rakovski later wrote that they composed the complicated and prolonged process of acquiring a new political culture and the skill to govern the first state of workers and peasants in the world.

The special care with which Lenin closely followed Rakovski's work in the Ukraine is characterized by his following memorandum: "I learned that Rakovski is quite tired, but he is too conscientious to ask for leave. I propose that he should be granted 1 month of leave and advise you to fix the date, as well as to seek medical advice concerning the resort he should select."

Rakovski's great erudition was combined with his knowledge of seven languages and these qualities brilliantly manifested themselves in his diplomatic career. He excelled in this field as early as in the 1918-1919 period, when under Lenin's leadership the first goal of the young Soviet state's foreign policy was set—namely to come out of isolation on the international scene and to establish economic relations with Western countries, as well as to create conditions for the restoration of the economy and normalization of life after the devastating Civil War. From 1922 Rakovski took part in working out

the strategic line of economic rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Germany. As a member of the Soviet delegations to the international conferences in Genoa and Lausanne in 1922 and 1923, together with Chicherin, and Litvinov, he contributed to the implementation of the first foreign policy victory over hostile Europe—the signing of the Rapallo Treaty with Germany and the friendship agreement with Turkey.

The meeting between Aleksandur Stamboliyski and Krustyu Rakovski at the Genoa Conference was memorable. Stamboliyski wrote in his diary: "The most interesting people at the conference are the Russian Bolshevik delegates. The strongest man in the Russian delegation is the Bulgarian Rakovski... ."

The Bulgarian prime minister sent the following telegram to Sofia:

"Last night we had dinner with Mr and Mrs Rakovski. Chicherin and Krasin also attended. Our conversation lasted until midnight and I do not need to tell you that the Russians expressed their admiration and affection for Bulgaria."

The Communist press in Bulgaria followed with particular interest and reported Krustyu Rakovski's activities in the Ukraine, in Soviet Russia, and at international diplomatic conferences. RABOTNICHESKO DELO printed all his important articles published in PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA.

As early as in those days the BCP was proud of the fact that one of its founders had become one of the first leaders of the Soviet state.

During the ensuing period of his diplomatic activities as first Soviet ambassador to London, and then to Paris, Rakovski efficiently linked the negotiations on the debts of Tsarist Russia and the claims for compensation for nationalized property to the question of the political recognition of the Soviet government. The two most important capitalist states in Europe recognized the USSR de jure. This was not only a success of Soviet foreign policy, but as Chicherin said; "Recognition of the October Revolution as the basis of the Soviet state." A high evaluation of Rakovski's personal contribution and diplomatic skill was expressed by IZVESTIYA on 20 August 1924, and E. Carr, the British historian, later described him as the "best diplomat of the twenties."

At the 15th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1927 Rakovski was expelled from the party together with a number of distinguished party figures, who from various points of view, openly criticized the emerging administrative-command system in the party and state leadership of the USSR and the beginning distortion of the Leninist norms of party life. In 1934 Rakovski's party membership was restored and he was appointed chairman of the All-Union Red Cross. Arrested in 1937, he was expelled from the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and sentenced to 20 years of prison after a trial staged against the so-called anti-Soviet, right-wing Trotskiyte bloc. He was shot in 1941.

For over half a century Krustyu Rakovski's invaluable merits and his brilliant revolutionary achievements remained in oblivion. On 4 February 1988 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to quash the sentence and annul the case against a group of distinguished party and state leaders of the Soviet Union, including Krustyu Rakovski, while on 21 June the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee restored his party membership.

Today there again arises before us the fascinating image of an exceptionally honest and unselfish man, a highly educated Marxist, totally devoted to the revolutionary cause, siding with Lenin in the extremely difficult struggle for the creation, consolidation, and development of the Soviet state. We still do not have available all the documents that might reveal the rich variety and essence of this personality. This work still awaits us. Nevertheless, today we are already able to, and must outline some of the basic facts of his activities, those features that represent a living link with our deeds and to the modern day.

Today, under the conditions of profound, innovative processes in our country, in the Soviet Union, and the world of socialism, when we are reconsidering and asserting with new strength the true, living, creative spirit of Leninism, we cannot fail to appreciate the relations between Lenin and Rakovski as an example of communist adherence to principle, equal rights, mutual respect, and responsibility. Already their first meeting in 1902 marked the beginning of an intense intellectual communication, of a sincere comradeship that continued throughout the years of their joint work during the Second International, and after. In these relations there were also discussions and differences, but they placed the lofty interests of the revolutionary cause above all of them, and this was a solid basis for their unity of thought and action.

If we go through the shorthand transcripts of the congresses of the Bolsheviks, the Comintern, and the Soviets, and Lenin's biography, we will see that Rakovski was one of Lenin's closest comrades in arms, one upon whom Lenin relied, and whom he unreservedly trusted. This trust shown by Lenin is eloquent proof of his ability to work with people, especially with people from other parties, and to value and encourage their abilities.

For his part, Krustyu Rakovski proved fully worthy of this trust. He invested all his talent, energy, knowledge, and the experience gained from this work in Bulgaria, Romania, and the West European socialist movement in the building of the new society in the Soviet Union. His highly praised work in all the Soviet party and state posts that he filled provides evidence that he was nurtured in the international spirit of the Bulgarian revolutionaries,

in the spirit in which our party has been educating its members from the time of its creation to the present day. These are the words Rakovski spoke to a group of Bulgarians in 1918, as chairman of the Sovnarkom of the Ukraine: "You must have been convinced from my previous conversations that I have not lost the feeling that I am a Bulgarian, but this feeling has not obscured or distorted my ideas about what had to be said and done in order to establish in the world that order of things under which Bulgarians and all others must prosper." All this reveals to us the picture of a strong, bright, and consistent personality embodying our party's fine tradition of sympathetically supporting the struggles and aspirations of the workers of all countries. This makes the name and achievement of Krustyu Rakovski our national and international capital.

Comrades, Soviet and Bulgarian historians face the task of finally reestablishing the historical truth connected with the final years of Krustyu Rakovski's life. However, we know even now that a number of those Soviet figures who have now been rehabilitated did not share the ideas of Trotskiy, but defended their own views, and openly opposed Stalin's theoretical postulates and practical actions, as well as the bureaucratic command-administrative system that was coming into being at that time, contrary to Lenin's ideas.

As early as in the twenties, at the highest party forums Rakovski was one of the few people to turn attention to the first manifestations of bureaucratization of the party leadership, and insisted on the publication of the letters and articles Lenin wrote before his death, known as "the political testament."

In his speech at the 13th CPSU Conference Rakovski voiced his deep concern over the party's future, and pointed out the danger of the party apparatus and the entire party becoming isolated from the workers' class and the working population. It should be stressed that Rakovski's view of the party as "a voluntary union of like-minded people, consolidated by the unity of the cause" is based on Lenin's view of the party and is opposed to the ideas stated by Trotskiy, of the party as "a caste of samurai," or by Stalin, that the party is something like a "crusaders' order" or a military hierarchy.

Rakovski appealed for the study and application of Lenin's theory on the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the party in restoring the creative atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism, freedom of thought and speech, and "internal party democracy, which alone is capable of guaranteeing the development of a correct party line."

In August 1929 Rakovski wrote: "An effective struggle with bureaucracy requires the active participation of the millions of workers in control over the actions of state and public organizations, including those of the party." Only if this condition is fulfilled will it become possible to eliminate the willful domineering management, mismanagement, irresponsibility, tyranny, and arbitrary rule of the bureaucratic apparatus, and the fear, debasement, and lack of rights of the workers."

Today, 6 decades later, these words still have a strong, topical ring. In Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and other fraternal countries revolutionary restructuring has this self-same aim, namely to elevate socialism to a qualitatively new level, to unleash the inexhaustible energy of the masses and direct it to building a worthy society based on humanitarianism, democracy, self-government, and high morality, to place man in the center when resolving all issues and problems, and to make the transition from power in the name of the people to power through the people.

We know that the cause in which we are all engaged is a difficult and complex one, vast in its scale. We take this into account, and compare it with good reason to the first years following the October Revolution, when the foundations of the new society were laid down. And if we persist in returning to those years, to the ideas and experience of Lenin and his comrades in arms, it is not to copy them, but to seek that strong connecting link with the present day.

Why do we need to do this? It is because scientific socialism, as a theory, is the result of the rational interpretation of the whole of mankind's previous experience, and as a code of practice is a result of the skill to take into account the realities, trends, and phenomena in all spheres of social life, both in one's own country and in the world as a whole.

One of the chief lessons to be drawn from the experience of Lenin and his comrades in arms is not to seek ready answers in Marxism, but to utilize the Marxist class dialectical method to investigate society. This means moving from facts to ideas, and not the converse. This is the very approach that led the BCP, CPSU, and other fraternal parties to realize that we need to make a transition from the previous model of socialism to a new one that is adequate for contemporary domestic and international realities. This led our party to the July Concept, which is a concept for revolutionary change in both the base and the superstructure of the whole of society.

The change in the base primarily consists of a broad-scale reorientation of the economy toward scientific and technical progress, a unique kind of postindustrialization on the basis of ultrahigh-quality products, information science, biotechnologies, and so on, and a true transfusion of manpower into the infrastructure of society. In resolving this immense task, the party has a clear understanding of the need to build a new material-technical base, of the revolutionary essence of the scientific and technical revolution, and of the need to elevate

the productive forces to a qualitatively new level. This is the foundation of the restructuring in all fields of life and in the consciousness of the people.

How will this come about? Turning again to Lenin, we know that he, as a true creative Marxist, continually further developed and specified the ways and forms of building socialism, in accordance with the historical realities. In his last draft developments he also accepted the idea of socialism as a society of civilized cooperative workers, an idea that was undeservedly disregarded for many years.

In our times, under changing realities, we, bearing in mind the Soviet experience and that of other fraternal parties, have embodied new principles in the July Concept. These principles concern the following:

—Strictly taking account of the objective laws and realities of the contemporary world;

—development of socialist property;

—democratic centralism and the state's strategic role; and

—the leading and guiding role of the communist party.

Our aim, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, is to build "a socialism that is in a state of continuous dynamism and development toward more progressive forms and methods of functioning, one that increasingly places His Majesty Man in the center of things, boldly and uncompromisingly rids itself of everything that is old and holds back its development, and reveals its advantages in the material, social, and intellectual aspects."

If we look into the theoretical and practical legacy of Lenin and his immediate successors, we see that this is the socialism toward which they strove at a different time, under different conditions and using different means.

It is a fundamentally important condition for realizing all our designs that we should honestly, critically, and self-critically make sense of the legacy of history, of the road that we have completed. At the initiative of Lenin's party, a number of difficult issues were raised and frankly and honestly analyzed, and a start made on filling in the gaps in history and restoring historical truth. In order to build a strong foundation for the new society and create a solid barrier against all kinds of distortions of its essence, one of the chief tasks facing us is to carry out, in addition to the restructuring that has started in the economic and intellectual spheres, a restructuring of the legal superstructure. Our aim is to progress toward a socialist self-managing society based on the law and to build a state based on law.

When we attempt to find the connection between the past, present, and future, we inevitably arrive at the new political thinking. We can discover the germs of this thinking in the first post-October years, when the Soviet diplomats, including Krustyu Rakovski, established in the practice of interstate relations the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social orders.

We can imagine the great erudition, insistence, and skills that the first Soviet representatives abroad had to have in order to overcome the mistrust and hostility of the old capitalist capitals, which saw the October Revolution as a mistake of history. We can imagine how much tact, consistency, and conviction they needed in order to assert elements of international relations that were new at that time.

These qualities are equally necessary today not only for the diplomats but also for all sensibly thinking people. This is so because the present conditions and reality are different. The issue of surviving in the nuclear era has given priority to the universal interests. Therefore today it is the constructive and not the destructive tendencies that dominate the class struggle in the international arena. The really universal human interests can overcome the forces of division and confrontation, which are holding back the development of civilization.

The new thinking in the world is first of all thinking in qualitative rather than quantitative categories. It is based on the dialectical unity of the class, national, and all-human elements, and called upon not only to save mankind from extinction but also to do what has been impossible until now—to bring morality and politics close to each other.

Comrades, today, when we are paying tribute to Krustyu Rakovski's life and cause we also remember with gratitude all the other Bulgarian internationalists, who work for their ideal in the Soviet Union, represented the living link between the Bulgarian and Soviet Communists, and left a lasting mark in the indestructible friendship and fraternity between our nations.

The scrupulous, honest, and dedicated implementation of revolutionary duty was one of Rakovski's characteristics. His entire revolutionary activity was ruled by creative and constructive factors.

Rakovski's opinions on many important issues of party and Soviet construction represent a contribution to the efforts of those healthy forces in the party against distortions of the Leninist norms of party life, in that honest and bold struggle to overcome the difficulties in constructing socialism. Despite the fact that we are at the very beginning of research into Krustyu Rakovski's cause, and that new documents are to be collected, and light is to be shed on the last years of his life, we can already say: during the years of responsible political activity he remained loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Despite the deviations or erroneous steps, that were allowed, some of which were an objective reflection of the era and the unique character of the stages of the revolutionary struggle, Rakovski left a clear mark on the

development of Bulgarian, Balkan, and international social democracy and in the struggle for asserting the cause of the October Revolution and constructing socialism.

The celebration of the 115th anniversary of Rakovski's birth is therefore a further stimulus in our difficult and noble struggle to apply the party decisions in socialist practice and successfully construct a highly developed and civilized socialist Bulgaria.

New Edition of Zhivkov's Works Published
AU0909151888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Partizdat has published a second supplemented edition of the collected works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov published a year ago under the title "On Qualitatively New Growth and In-Depth Restructuring in All Fields."

The new edition includes the "Basic Premises on the Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," approved by the July 1986 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the report to the BCP National Conference under the title "Restructuring—Cause of the Party, Cause of the People," as well as his introductory and concluding speeches at this great party forum. Also included are his "Considerations on Certain Problems and Tasks Connected With Restructuring of the Intellectual Sphere," delivered before the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, and the lecture "The Question of Power and Self-Management—A Key Issue for the Restructuring of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," delivered in June 1988 to students and staff at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management of the BCP Central Committee.

Jakes Discusses Importance of Restructuring
LD0909230288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Report on a speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, during a debate at the Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society in Prague on 9 September—recorded]

[Text] We deem it right that you should approach the results of your work self-critically and exactingly, and that you should praise what is good while at the same time seeing problems and failings, as well as the requirements of the present. This is now especially important as we carry out profound revolutionary changes through economic and social restructuring based on deepening socialist democracy. Its program proceeds from our needs and experiences brought on by restructuring in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It was adopted by the seventh and ninth sessions of the party's Central Committee.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the course along which it proceeded, and the conclusions it adopted brought new impulses, which we greatly appreciate. That conference developed the process of restructuring and democratization on which we also have embarked, and that is why we will apply a number of the findings of our Soviet comrades in accelerating the process of social transformations in our conditions. I would like to stress in this connection that the course of revolutionary transformations the CPSU has embarked upon has our full support.

When tackling issues concerning the further development of our society, we are relying on the not small results we have achieved in socialist construction, despite all the problems, mistakes, and failings. We have built a strong production and technological base. We have attained a relatively solid standard of living. We possess a well-developed system of social guarantees. Our people's cultural and political maturity is also high. This, however, does not mean that everything can remain in the accustomed grooves and that nothing need be changed. On the contrary, international development has after all not ceased. To mark time would mean stagnation and lagging behind, and the weakening of the position of socialism in the competition between the two social and economic formations, with all the resulting economic, social, and political consequences. This means that we must do our utmost for the success of restructuring.

Despite restructuring's being a logical and irreversible process, we cannot rely on its taking place automatically. Implementing such significant changes in the life of our society which we have set for ourselves will not be possible without the active participation of people. The key thing is not to retreat in the face of difficulties but rather, on the contrary, to wage a merciless struggle against inertia in thinking and behavior, and against dogmatism, routine, red tape, and arrogant attitudes toward people, and likewise against corruption, theft, and all kinds of violations of socialist morality and laws. These phenomena do not exist in society by themselves, for each of them has its own specific carrier.

It is the cadres who are the prerequisite for the success of restructuring in all spheres of life, due to their political maturity, expertise, and ability to lead a collective. It is such people that we must nominate for leading posts in state and economic bodies, social organizations, in elections of managing directors of enterprises, and for the councils of working collectives. We are concerned about ensuring that nonparty people and members of other political parties work in leading posts to a considerably greater extent, and that in addition to proven older officials young people as well as women be given a far greater opportunity.

In selecting cadres, it is their competence and technical, political, and moral qualities that must be the key. It is necessary to make broad use of the system based on several candidates or based on a competition and the like in electing managerial workers, to apply to the broadest possible degree the public discussion of nominations to leading posts. It is those who are forward-looking and who are not afraid of responsibility who must be given support.

Your organization can provide very significant assistance in raising the effectiveness of scientific and technological development. After all, nearly three-quarters of a million of your members are directly involved in all areas of society's life. They are substantially represented precisely in the scientific, research, and development base; in preproduction stages where the technical standard of products and their quality and price —that is, the good name of the enterprise both at home and abroad— is above all decided. Members of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society cannot be indifferent to the honor of their respective factories' trademarks.

I would like to reiterate that we value the work of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, who together with other working people in their overwhelming majority are actively contributing to fulfilling the tasks of social and economic development. It is precisely to them that a significant, and I would say a key, place belongs in utilizing the results of the scientific and technological revolution to benefit the further development of socialism.

Commentary Applauds Reforms
LD1109181788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 11 Sep 88

["Living Words" program commentary by Professor Milan Matejka of the Prague School of Economics]

[Excerpts] The transformations which we are currently experiencing affect almost all areas of our life. The

interesting thing is that the most marked results have been achieved in the field where they were least expected—in the field of international relations. [passage omitted]

In contrast to this, in our country where the transformations are so to speak in our own hands, the actual results are not that marked. Far from it, in fact. It is the economic sector that has caused perhaps the greatest puzzlement and doubt, although it was here that important documents, including the law on enterprises, were prepared and adopted within a short space of time, and and here that steps were taken to effect changes in the organization of the national economy.

People working in enterprises—that is, in the places where goods are produced and services provided—have not yet to a large degree felt the results of progressive changes. No one has yet switched from the rampant administration, produced by directive centralism, to the productive process; there are still not enough people to fill vacancies in shops and in the heavily undermanned distribution network, in the sector maintaining housing, and in public sectors. Many vacancies on the shopfloors of factories also remain unfilled while the administrative sector is still not yet satisfied. Vacancies in offices are still being advertised.

The so-called streamlining of organizational structures, which frequently restricted the powers of former enterprises, which have now become plants, with production management thus becoming more distant from the actual processes, has also caused considerable disenchantment. Supplies to the manufacturing sector have not yet improved in any way. Materials and good-quality modern machinery are obtained with greater difficulty, and the sale of our products abroad is also becoming more and more difficult due to their low quality.

Can one therefore be surprised that Comrade Jan Spargel should have written the following in the 13 August "Worker's Word" column in RUDE PRAVO: So far little has been done to take a radical step out of the old grooves that lead to nowhere. How will the restructuring of the national economy probably end? What will be its fate? Will it not be quietly swept away like the previous one?

I often hear similar doubts expressed during my contacts with officials from enterprises, and this is why I welcome the opportunity to react to them publicly. It would be easy to play down the doubts by saying that we are only at the start of the reform and that its effects will only be apparent after a period of time has elapsed. Indeed, the economy is not an organism which can change from one day to another. Radical improvement and the revival of this organism can take years despite the most rational changes in its management, due to the condition in which the economic mechanism has found itself. Impatience and the mistrust of economic restructuring only because it has not brought immediate results is therefore misplaced. However, unsubstantiated optimism and the view that the most important thing was the adoption of the law on enterprises, and other documents of restructuring, is also misplaced. What is of substance is the content and quality of these documents which need to be understood as projects for restructuring.

Our experiences of the effects of the recently adopted set of measures and findings from the deeper reforms in some other socialist countries should warn us against a kind of euphoria from the mere adoption of the documents of restructuring.

It is not only the quality but also the realization of the projects of economic reform which pose a very serious problem. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the practical carrying through of restructuring is publicly described as being the main problem. Even the state's political leadership is having to become involved in such important discussions—for instance, the last all-union CPSU conference—concerning resistance to the thorough, practical realization of the reform projections.

What kind of resistance are we talking about? Where is its main center? These questions can be answered unequivocally. The economic reforms which are intended to replace the direct central management of the economy with economic methods are meeting with resistance especially from the existing supraenterprise management sector. This is quite logical. After all, consistent implementation of the principal reform intentions would lead to a substantial reduction in the number of posts in offices and to fundamental changes in the workstyle of supraenterprise management bodies, to substantially higher demands on expert knowledge and the quality of work, to linking the existing large powers with equal responsibility, and to the need to lead oneself toward the microeconomy from the position of a partnership supervised from below. All of this is very unpleasant compared with the existing state of affairs, and this is why the supraenterprise management sector is resisting deep reforms and is putting up an effective resistance by using cunning braking mechanisms. And because it is precisely officials from the central economic bodies who have been entrusted with the task of fleshing out the reform projects and drafting management regulations, this opportunity is used to provide little change but with new names. Almost everyone is trying to hold onto their own present position. The situation in all the socialist countries is the same in this respect. I myself have encountered it in our country—for instance, in connection with the comprehensive experiment when the translation of the principles into the rules of the experiment by our central authorities during the first stage almost negated the very essense of the experiment. It was then necessary to make a considerable effort to ensure that the efforts of officials from the central authorities to hold onto the old did not succeed. And this merely concerned a partial increase in the independence of enterprises, not a radical economic reform.

I consider some regulations which have currently been conceived in central bodies as a step backward even in terms of the comprehensive experiment. Here I have in mind, for instance, wage regulation and foreign exchange self-financing.

The restructuring does not have unequivocal support in the microeconomy either, because here, too, it will require the application of higher standards. Management workers from enterprises, if the reform is consistently carried out, will no longer be able to rely on connections in superior bodies and on well-trodden lines on the shopfloor. They will have to quickly promote innovations and make optimal use of production technology and production sharing with other enterprises, with a view to accomodating changes in demand and the requirements of world markets.

A number of worker professions, too, will have to improve substantially. For instance, it cannot be tolerated in the long run for our construction workers to take several times longer to build installations or repair buildings than do the foreign companies which we sometimes employ. The lessons provided by our foreign competitors in the pace and quality of work are sometimes almost depressing. If we are to be competitive, it is simply not possible for a number of professions to work merely at half throttle. For many people, however, working at full speed is unpleasant.

However, one cannot generalize. I view with respect the pace of work by women in our textile factories and a number of other factories and mines, and the intensity of work in accountancy departments and some other offices. On average we must, however, step up our pace markedly. Economic laws and the need to productively use every hour apply to everyone who does not want to wind up at the tail-end of international development.

Radically improving our existing utilization of time and creating a generally demanding work climate are only possible through radical economic reform. The chronic illnesses of our economy, including poor work morale, are the local consequence of the existing system of economic management. Let us, therefore, overcome laxity within ourselves and let us fight uncompromisingly against all those who are deliberately impeding the implementation of the fundamental economic reform for shortsighted and selfish interests.

Difficulties in Bloc Enterprise Ties Noted

AU0909200888 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 and 8 September publishes reports by its Moscow correspondent Jan Tihlarik on the 2d and 3d days of the Czechoslovak-Soviet seminar on direct engineering links, which was held in Moscow from 5 to 7 September.

On 7 September, on pages 1 and 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,300-word Jan Tihlarik Moscow report entitled "Obstacles Can Be Removed." On 8 September, on page 7, it carries an 800-word Jan Tihlarik report entitled "Questions of Vital Urgency; Seminar on Direct Links Ended." In both reports, Tihlarik reviews statements made at the seminar by representatives of Czechoslovak and Soviet engineering enterprises in which they discuss the advantages of direct ties and the obstacles hindering their development. Tihlarik's account of the discussion at the seminar reveals that the greatest obstacles to greater economic integration are the different methods of price-setting in the two countries and the fact that prices mostly reflect neither inevitable costs nor world market prices. This problem is said to be compounded by "unrealistic exchange rates" and the absence of currency convertibility. To illustrate the "negative impact of diverse price-setting" in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, Tihlarik cites R. Peska, general director of the Klement Gottwald Iron Works in Vitkovice, as having stated at the seminar that "for rolled material that we export to a Soviet enterprise, we could get twice as much in the hard currency market." In addition to prices, other obstacles are also mentioned. The general director of the Klement Gottwald Iron Works in Vitkovice is quoted as having said that many enterprises which would like to develop direct ties "run up against the barrier of the monopoly position of foreign trade enterprises, even if they possess the right to operate independently in foreign markets." According to a Soviet representative quoted by Tihlarik, many Soviet enterprises which would like to have direct ties cannot do so because all their capacity allocated to state orders. Czechoslovak enterprises, on the other hand, are said to have fewer powers than their Soviet partners when it comes to concluding contracts.

In conclusion, Tihlarik mentions that a sequel to the Moscow seminar will be held in Prague later this year, and that the Prague seminar will reportedly focus on direct links in the production of consumer goods.

Jakes Sends GDR Condolences on Felfe Death

AU0909164488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK correspondent report: "Condolences on W. Felfe's Demise"]

[Text] Berlin—The SED Central Committee and the highest GDR state bodies have reported that Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, died on Wednesday [7 September] at the age of 60.

Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has sent to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, a letter of condolence on the Wednesday death of Werner Felfe.

We knew Comrade Felfe—the letter states, among other things—as a Communist whose thinking and conduct were totally permeated by loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. His life was connected with the successes which the GDR achieved—under the leadership of the party—in the construction of socialism. We respectfully commemorate his contribution to the development of friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and the peoples of our two countries. His death is a great loss for the SED and the GDR people, as well as for the international communist and workers movement.

Romanian-Hungarian Dailies View National Ties

AU0909151988 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 September on page 6 carries a 350-word unattributed report entitled "SCINTEIA on the Hungarian Press." The report reviews a commentary which was published by the Romanian party paper SCINTEIA on 4 September, in which that paper "expresses astonishment over the fact that the Hungarian press and other media supposedly ignore the positive results of the Arad meeting between N. Ceausescu and K. Grosz, and describe in a distorted manner the situation in Romania, including the program of village modernization." The daily quotes SCINTEIA's charges that Hungarian media carry "tendentious commentaries" about Romania which "create artificial tension and do not in the least serve the interests of the two nations," that even articles in the party paper NEPSZABADSAG "leave an impression of dissatisfaction with the fact that the Arad meeting was held at all," and that Hungarian media "use information from hostile chauvinistic and nationalistic circles and continue to distort reality in Romania, including the situation of Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality." RUDE PRAVO also quotes the Romanian party paper as having written that "one could discuss at length the problems and conditions of the lives of Hungarian citizens of Romanian nationality or other nationalities, whose lives are complicated by the economic reform, which affects their standard of living," but that Romania believes that solving these problems is up to the Hungarian side.

On 8 September, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 450-word unattributed report entitled "MAGYAR HIRLAP Replies to SCINTEIA." The report summarizes an undated MAGYAR HIRLAP "editorial commentary" on the aforementioned SCINTEIA article, "which, in the opinion of the Hungarian side, sharply attacked the Hungarian press and slandered the economic reform as well as the country's economic and social situation." The RUDE PRAVO report cites the MAGYAR HIRLAP article as having said that "the situation of Hungarians living in Romania arouses justified concern among the Hungarian public" and that "the current domestic political situation in Romania cannot be shown as being free of problems, as was the case 10 or 20 years ago." The same RUDE PRAVO report also contains a passage on the 6 September session of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo; RUDE PRAVO reports, among other things, that the Politburo has proposed to the Hungarian Government "to exert maximum efforts" to resolve the situation of Romanian refugees in Hungary, in view of the fact that "the Romanian side is not interested" in a joint solution to the problem.

Husak Greets Mongolia's Batmonh From Aircraft

AU0909160488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 88 p 1

[Report by CTK and RUDE PRAVO correspondents Milan Jelinek and Vladimir Divis]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—While flying to the PRC, CSSR President Gustav Husak on Saturday [3 September] while aboard his plane sent a greetings telegram to Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR].

The telegram states: While flying over the territory of the MPR, I send to you, the Presidium of the MPR Great People's Hural, and all the Mongolian people cordial greetings and wishes for great success in realizing the results of the 19th MPRP Congress and in restructuring Mongolian society.

We are convinced that the relations of friendship between our countries will continue to deepen and strengthen for the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Mongolian peoples, and in the interest of lasting international peace and progress.

President Husak Attends DPRK Anniversary

For DPRK and Czech media accounts of the visit to the DPRK by Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, including his arrival and his activities on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, see the North Korea section of the 8 September East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Jakes Receives PDRY's Al-'Attas 2 Sep

AU0509125888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Interest in the Further Development of Friendly Relations"]

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ general secretary, received here today Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas is currently vacationing in the CSSR.

During their frank [otevreny] meeting, which was also attended by Vasil Bilak, member of the CPCZ Presidium and Central Committee secretary, they exchanged views on the present state of international relations. They agreed that the process of real disarmament launched by the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty has had a positive influence on the overall international atmosphere and that it creates prerequisites for a political solution of regional conflicts.

Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas discussed the situation in Yemen and the country's foreign policy, as well as the implementation of the country's economic and social development program. Milos Jakes told his guest about the process of restructuring Czechoslovakia's economic mechanism.

Both officials confirmed their interest in further developing friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and Democratic Yemen in all spheres, with emphasis on the search for new mutually advantageous forms of economic cooperation.

Cambodia's Chea Sim, Delegation Arrive 2 Sep

LD0209233288 Prague CTK in English 1659 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 2 (CTK)—Special envoy of the general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, member of the Politburo of the party, chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence National Council Chea Sim arrived here today with his entourage for a working visit.

The delegation was welcomed at the airport by members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Vladimir Vedra, Deputy Defence Minister Karel Rusov and other party and government representatives.

Bilak Receives Chea Sim

LD0209233688 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 2 (CTK)—Chea Sim, special envoy of the general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, party Politburo member and chairman of the National Assembly and the National Council of the United Front of National Construction and Defence was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak.

They informed each other of the implementation of the conclusions of the two parties' latest congresses and exchanged views on topical foreign political issues. Chea Sim also spoke about the state of the solution of the Kampuchean issue and the favourable atmosphere created after the July talks in Indonesia's Bogor.

Jakes Meets With Chea Sim

LD0509193488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Full Support for the Efforts To Build a Peaceful, Neutral Cambodia"]

CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today a special envoy of the general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

Chea Sim, member of the party Politburo and chairman of the Kampuchean National Assembly and the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense, presented Milos Jakes with a message from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party, and expressed thanks for the friendly reception accorded him in the CSSR. In a friendly and comradely talk, he informed Milos Jakes of the party's tasks in implementing the policy of national reconciliation, the results of the meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, and the favorable situation created for progress in solving the Cambodian issue.

Milos Jakes expressed his admiration for the results achieved by the Cambodian people since the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime, and he expressed full support for the efforts of the Cambodian Government to achieve national reconciliation and to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia.

The two representatives expressed the interest of their countries and parties in further developing all-around cooperation.

Later in the day the delegation left for Hungary.

Briefs

Bulgarian Residents

There are currently more than 9,000 Bulgarians living permanently in the CSSR. [Summary] [*AU0909160288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 88 p 2*]

Stepan Meets Soviet Newsman

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Valeriy Lysenko, chief editor of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, in Prague on 7 September. Stepan briefed his guest "on the realization of social and economic restructuring in the CSSR capital, and highly assessed the inspiring influence of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the course of restructuring in Moscow on the work of the Prague party organization." [Summary] [*AU0909155988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 88 p 2*]

Further Reportage on Visit of Hungary's Grosz

Grosz Meets With Schabowski

LD0909203388 Budapest MTI in English 1120 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, September 9 (MTI)—On Friday morning, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, met Gunter Schabowski, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, secretary of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin party committee, with whom he exchanged views on issues concerning the two capitals.

Earlier, Gunter Schabowski visited at the invitation of Karoly Grosz, who, at that time, was first secretary of the Budapest party committee, and the friendly meeting this morning was held as a return visit.

Grosz, Mittag Meet Combine Heads

LD0909214888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 9 Sep (ADN)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met today with 30 directors-general of GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises. The exchange of experiences concentrated on results and tasks in deepening scientific-technical and economic cooperation between the two countries. In referring to specific examples, the directors-general explained experiences in realizing the economic strategy of the 11th SED Congress to benefit cooperation, and they also answered questions by Karoly Grosz concerning economic problems.

At the start, Karoly Grosz remarked that a new stage in cooperation has begun with the current work on coordinating plans for 1991-95. The program of scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and Hungary up to the year 2000 constitutes a good foundation for this. "It is very important for us to get to know your experiences." Direct cooperation on the level of the combines and enterprises is crucial to how this framework will be used. The mechanism of economic control in Hungary differs to a certain extent from that in the GDR. It could be said that the Hungarian economy is "under way, in a phase of restructuring." For this reason as well, he asked for honest depictions of the state of affairs and problems, of obstacles as well as cooperation.

It is very important for both countries to develop computer technology and microelectronics with such important partners as Videoton and the MOM Optical Works of Budpest, Robotron combine Director-General Friedrich Wokurka stressed. The scientific-technical cooperation with Videoton aims at applying new working principles for printers for CAD/CAM work stations and for 16-bit personal computers.

Karoly Grosz asked for information on the experiences of the supply discipline and quality of the Hungarian products. The Robtron director-general reported almost wholly positive experiences. If there is a problem it is quickly solved together. That has always worked well.

For many years the two countries have cooperated in the area of manufacturing chips and circuits as well. Siegfried Butszeck, deputy director-general of the microelectronics combine, discussed a qualitatively new step that was begun in 1987: scientific-technical cooperation in the design of circuits. The first jointly developed circuit will be available at the end of 1988. This product, which is used as a traffic radio decoder, will close a gap in the range within the CEMA. We foresee great possibilities for greatly strengthening economic relations. The directors-general of the Fortschritt Landmaschinen combine and the IFA commercial vehicle combine, and the deputy directors-general of the Chemical Installation Construction combine and the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool combine also reported on the standard and experiences of their successful cooperation, which has lasted many years.

Karoly Grosz thanked them for their extraordinarily precise and clear information, and for their insight into everyday concerns and tasks. He said that we have heard about experiences here which justify great hopes. We have good foundations at our disposal, foundations on which we can build further. Karoly Grosz stressed that Hungary is oriented toward the broadest possible cooperation. He very much welcomed the stand explained by the representative of the GDR agricultural-equipment construction combine that the measure of this must be the highest state of science and technology. We are pleased, Karoly Grosz stressed, that cooperation is taking increasingly demanding forms and that it is constantly expanding.

Guenter Mittag described the exchange of experiences as living proof of how the economic strategy of the 11th party congress is being realized in the GDR. It has been possible to see why we consider the combines and their enterprises, including the foreign trade enterprises, as the backbone of the socialist planned economy. We will strengthen still further the combines' responsibility for their own budgeting of resources, their making investments available, and the development of direct relations, because in this way our structural policy can be even more effectively realized. Guenter Mittag stressed that long-term stable agreements and mutually advantageous relations are important for expanding cooperation. We view Hungary as a partner with which we are united in all sectors by solid economic and scientific cooperation. We will pursue this path with complete consistency.

On the same day the MSZMP general secretary signed the Golden Book of the city during a visit to the Red Town Hall. At the invitation of the mayor, Karoly Grosz then undertook a walkabout through the historic Nikolai quarter.

Grosz Discusses Economic Ties

LD0909204988 Budapest MTI in English 1423 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, September 9 (MTI)—On Friday morning, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met managers of combines and foreign trade companies which play a major part in the economic relations between Hungary and the German Democratic Republic.

The discussion was attended by Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee [CC], and Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade.

After the opening remarks of Guenter Mittag, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and secretary of the Central Committee, Karoly Grosz pointed out the remarkable development of bilateral economic cooperation and the stability of links, which serves well the interests of both sides. At the same time, he drew attention to the need to explore new opportunities through joint efforts for the sake of qualitative improvements.

Karoly Grosz said, "in our view, a further great opportunity for cooperation lies in the expansion of direct company contacts, besides general plan coordination. We are convinced that the extremely good political ties between the two parties and countries provide favourable conditions for even more successful economic cooperation."

Then the mangers of the six combines spoke in detail about the results of cooperation with Hungarian partners and current tasks. They also raised a few problems related to pricing practices, observance of delivery deadlines and the inadequate pace of technical development. Karoly Grosz expressed his thanks for the information and stressed that Hungary would work for the broadest possible cooperation.

After the meeting, HSWP CC secretary, Miklos Nemeth, said to Hungarian newsmen, "The conference showed that the GDR continues to attach priority to traditional forms of cooperation. Despite readiness to broaden direct company relations, they have no intentions of setting up joint ventures. A few contributions indicated that market considerations were gaining ground in the GDR. Compared to previous years, it is a considerable improvement in atmosphere that we do not qualify each others' economic systems, that we recognize each other's basic principles and that we have respect for each others' practices. Despite twenty years of major differences in the two countries' management systems, outstanding results have been achieved in cooperation. The present talks will certainly contribute to further development."

Nemeth Views Economic Talks

LD0909205988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Correspondent Ivan Bedo report from Berlin]

[Excerpt] [Bedo] [Passage omitted] The highlight of this morning's program was the meeting of the Hungarian general secretary and premier [Karoly Grosz] with those economic leaders who play an important role in the contacts maintained with Hungary.

This is how Central Committee Secretary Miklos Nemeth summarized for journalists what he heard this morning and at yesterday's negotiations:

[Begin Nemeth recording] The emphasis is on relations based on cooperation and, to a lesser extent, on the planned strengthening of cooperation within the framework of and related to joint ventures. I consider this one of the special features of cooperation in Hungarian-GDR relations. Here it would be pointless to go into detail about the causes of this. Obviously, ideological-political considerations play a part in it, but at the same time, in comparison with previous years, I deem it a great improvement in the atmosphere that we do not keep giving names [minoesitgetjuek] to each others' system of management but rather recognize them as they are. It must be acknowledged—it is beyond doubt—that the GDR's system of management [iranyitasi rendszer] is based on different basic principles, and that its practice, too, is very different from ours, but this economy produces and achieves results.

As for the Hungarian experience, what we could adopt in cooperation requires above all else greater concentration in certain sectors. In other words, if they become clearly aware of some type of goal or problem, they then syustemically approach it in a complex manner and treat it [lekezelik] within their own set of instruments, energy [words indistinct], and thrift in material comsuption. Links with the market, I feel, are beginning to come to the fore in their thinking. This was palpable in the contributions of one or two general managers here, too. They also increasingly recognize that within a closed system, even if the system is viewed in CEMA terms, it is impossible to work with sufficient profitability in a good number of sectors from the viewpoint of the optimum scale of operations. Thus the world market, too, comes to the fore.

There is one other issue. I see that contacts between science, development institutes, and production enterprises are strengthened with very great emphasis and linked with material incentives. This has not become clear here, but it was made clear to me at the negotiations yesterday. We have hardly begun this in Hungary. So there would be experience and practice to adopt here in this respect. [end recording]

Grosz Holds News Conference

LD0909184988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Report on news conference on 9 September by Karoly Grosz, MSZMP secretary general and Hungarian premier, by correspondent Ivan Bedoe; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bedoe] Hungary highly values the GDR's developments; we respect them in accordance with national characteristics. The GDR for its part observes Hungarian developments objectively and openly. It follows our path-seeking with sympathy. This summary-type comment by Karoly Grosz gives a good sense of the atmosphere.

According to indications, this kind of mutual understanding is a good basis for cooperation. The sentence quoted was voiced at Karoly Grosz's news conference this afternoon. Rarely does an international news conference eliciting such great interest take place in Berlin. Nor is it a custom for guests from socialist countries to hold such conferences. On behalf of Hungarian radio, I asked two questions. One of them was: At the talks, it was established that there is a strong intention to develop economic cooperation, but the two countries' economic relations are diverging more and more. What solutions facilitate a realization of this intention? The other one was: I assume that mutual information has also extended to the Hungarian-Romanian relationship. What type of GDR stand was he able to ascertain, seeing that a German minority also lives in Romania?

[Begin Grosz recording] As for the first question, I do not consider economic relations to be divergent and to be increasing [as heard]; it is in methods of economic management where I see a difference. Here, there is one organizing principle which can link the practice of different styles, and this is the principle of mutual assertion of interests. We are not obligating, and nor will we obligate in the future, any of our enterprises to undertake cooperation which is contrary to their interests. If it is the interest of a Hungarian enterprise to cooperate with an enterprise in the GDR, it should accommodate itself to it. If it is not in its interest, then it should not conclude a transaction.

As for the Hungarian-Romanian relationship, I naturally nformed Erich Honecker about my experiences in Romania, which he noted with thanks.

I do not know the stand of the German comrades concerning the situation of the 200,000 German-speaking people living in Romania. [end recording]

[Bedoe] Other people also enquired about the national minorities. Karoly Grosz told a correspondent of the Italian telegraph agency that we move forward not only for the Hungarians in Romania, but also for the defense of every national minority. This is a cornerstone of Hungarian policy.

Several questions were asked about Hungarian reforms and how they have been received. Karoly Grosz told one West German television network that we willingly learn from everyone. We also share our experiences with everyone; as for who takes in what out of this, this is their own responsibility—that is, quoting the words of Karoly Grosz, everyone voluntarily registers for this school. It obviously was not by design that a correspondent from a Chinese newspaper inquired: What is the Hungarian experience on the advantages and dangers of pluralism?

[Begin Grosz recording] As for pluralism, I can tell you that multicolored opinions are necessary for us to formulate the correct answer to the questions being raised. History has not verified our earlier opinion, that in society the interest-differences [erdek kueloenbsegek] automatically cease to exist in the course of development. On the contrary, every phase of development brings to the surface newer and newer interest-differences and contradictions. Since we have also come to the realization that the party can not be the sole possessor of wise answers, we need the opinions of others. For this reason, we are open to every counteropinion [ellenvelemeny], especially to those that wish to assist a resurgence [kibontakozas].

What is the danger of pluralism? That if the political culture is not of a satisfactorily high scale, if there is not enough self-control and self-discipline, if the norms of the political rules of the game have not been clarified, then debate becomes an end in itself, and, contrary to intentions, does not assist development but rather hampers it.

However, our experience shows that without accepting risk, nothing new has been born in the history of mankind. [end recording]

[Bedoe] Karoly Grosz's 2-day visit to Berlin ended with the afternoon news conference. In conclusion, the party general secretary and premier said that the visit had met expectations. The two countries' cooperation is not hampered by either political or economic obstacles.

Grosz Terms Visit 'Successful'

LD0909184888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 9 Sep (ADN)—Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, said at an international news conference in Berlin on Friday that

his 2-day exchange of views with leading GDR representatives had been useful and successful. He was able to state with satisfaction that the official friendship visit had met expectations. One was able to know better the experiences gained in the GDR; the interests and opinions were identical. There were no political or other problems standing in the way of developing bilateral relations. The most important task now was to make the maximum use of the capabilities available in the two countries.

Referring to the discussion with directors-general of GDR combines this morning, Karoly Grosz said that very many interesting proposals had been made. He had the impression that not only at the government level but also at the enterprise level there existed interest in deepening cooperation. The 2 days also confirmed that there existed total agreement between the GDR and Hungary on all foreign affairs issues examined. Hungary very much appreciated the GDR's initiatives for consolidating peace and security in Europe, and Hungary would likewise work to consolidate and develop the trends emerging in international life.

Karoly Grosz, who later answered questions from journalists, said that in his talks in the GDR he had explained in detail Hungary's political and economic objectives.

In agreement with Erich Honecker, the MSZMP, too, believes that every party, commensurate with the relevant conditions, should seek solutions to issues that are now arising. His party was prepared to learn from everybody and was pleased to make its own experiences available.

He considered his meeting with the directors-general to be a great gain in experiences. The quality of cooperation was decided in the enterprises. He did not share the view that economic conditions in the GDR and Hungary diverged increasingly; instead, he saw the differences in the method of economic management. The principle of the mutual assertion of interests could, under these conditions, serve as an ordering element.

Karoly Grosz praised the good relations between GDR combines and Hungarian enterprises and scientific institutions. Hungary was especially interested in promoting and forging this cooperation in the areas of microelectronics, computers, and robot technology and biotechnology. Thus, Hungarian research establishments like to get involved in solving scientific tasks initiated by GDR combines.

Karoly Grosz affirmed Hungary's view on the creation of nuclear-free zones. His country was pleased to join such initiatives and supported every effort in this direction, including those in central Europe and the Balkans.

During his talks in Berlin, consolidating the relations between the fraternal parties also played an important role. The MSZMP was in favor of expanding cooperation. At the same time, the cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties was deepening. One example of this was the joint initiative of the MSZMP and the Finnish Social Democratic and the Italian Socialist Party, which was being supported by the SED. Its main idea consisted of developing closer cooperation between states that do not have nuclear weapons.

Asked about Hungarian-Romanian relations, Karoly Grosz said he had briefed Erich Honecker on this.

Referring to a question about the problem of debts, the Hungarian representative explained his government's objective of bringing to a halt by 1990 the growth in foreign debts. In this connection, he announced that Hungary was able to increase in the first 8 months of 1988 its exports to capitalist countries by 22 percent, while imports remained unchanged. This showed that there was further scope for opening up economic reserves.

Honecker Sees Off Grosz 9 Sep

LD0909170588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin 8 Sep (ADN)—Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, ended his official friendly visit to the GDR on Friday. He was given a warm farewell in the early evening by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Other members of the party and state leadership also appeared at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport in honor of the Hungarian representative and the public officials accompanying him.

IZVESTIYA Quoted on Perestroyka's Problems

AU0709091888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 88 p 2

["IZVESTIYA on Problems of Restructuring in the USSR"—NEUES DEUTSCHLAND headline]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—"Nothing has changed in our country," "Perestroyka has not had any positive results for us," and "The people are tired of waiting"—these and similar statements can be found with increasing frequency in readers' letters, in newspapers, in private conversation, and on television, an article published by IZVESTIYA on Sunday [4 September] says. It states that these views are growing stronger and stronger. They are fed by, among other things, new queues, the lack of sugar, unreasonable decisions, and dogmatic steps that paralyze the sensible thoughts of those who guide perestroyka on the spot. Of course, there are difficulties, the paper writes. However, the "philosophy of the little wheel" must be eliminated, according to which the reprisals were Stalin's fault, voluntarism is blamed only

on Khrushchev, and stagnation was Brezhnev's fault. From the first day of restructuring onward, the party has pointed out the basic idea: Only the broad masses of the people, every individual, and all together can restructure society. Over the past years the necessary preconditions have been established for this. Now there is the question: Are we ready to make use of these opportunities? IZVESTIYA asks.

Antifascist Rally Held in Berlin 11 Sep

LD1109122688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0820 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 11 Sep (ADN)—A huge rally of Berlin people to mark the international memorial day for the victims of fascist terrorism and imperialist war took place on Sunday in Bebelplatz. Cordial welcomes were accorded at this traditional demonstration to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; other members of the GDR party and state leadership; and to antifascist resistance fighters from 23 countries in Europe and from Berlin (West). This year's memorial and militancy day has as its motto "The legacy of the revolutionary fighters against fascism and war lives on in our deeds for socialism and peace."

The rally was opened by Otto Funke, leading secretary of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters of the GDR.

The address was given by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. Others who spoke were: Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Silantyev, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans; and Alix Lhote, secretary general of the International Federation of Resistance Movements.

Two hundred thousand Berliners took part in the rally in August Bebelplatz.

FRG Citizens Arrested on Transit Charges

AU0809141088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 3 September at the Drewitz GDR border checkpoint, FRG citizens Fred Giesecke and Marita Gottre were caught in the act of abusing the transit agreement in a gang-like and organized manner, and were arrested by GDR security organs. Investigation proceedings were initiated and arrest warrants were issued. The Mercedes car with official license No NI-CU 162 which was used in the crime was confiscated.

Stoph Attends DPRK Anniversary Celebrations

For DPRK and GDR media accounts of the visit to the DPRK by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, including his arrival and talks with Yi Kun-mo, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and premier of the DPRK Administration Council, see the North Korea section of the 7 September East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Grosz, Delegation Return From GDR Visit

LD0909202988 Budapest MTI in English
1908 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 9 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] and the president of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic returned from the German Democratic Republic where he made an official and friendly visit. He was accompanied by Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee [CC], Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier and minister of trade and Geza Kotai, head of the HSWP CC foreign affairs section, all members of the CC, and Laszlo Major, head of the CC Bureau.

At the Ferihegy airport Karoly Grosz and his party was welcomed by Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee and Imre Szokai, deputy head of the CC foreign affairs section. Georg Folk, the ambassador of the GDR to Budapest was also present.

USSR's Zagladin on Arms Talks, Nationalities

LD1009162688 Budapest MTI in English
1508 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 10 (MTI)—Saturday's "NEPSZABADSAG" carries an article with Vadim Zagladin, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the CPSU Central Committee, who paid a visit to Budapest recently.

In reply to a question on the Vienna arms limitation talks, Zagladin says 'These talks used to be conducted under a former foreign policy concept even on the Soviet side. This concept overrated in many aspects the importance of the military-strategic foundations of security. In a simplified way I would say, we have always opposed nuclear war and fought for a ban on nuclear weapons but started from the supposition that a war could be won. Thus the military and strategic aspects were overvalued. By now we have unanimously adopted the position that a nuclear war would have no winner, and drawn the logical conclusions, it has become obvious that disarmament is the real guarantee of security.'

On the role of small countries: 'Although we have never denied the role of small states, we laid emphasis on our relationship with the United States and in some cases with some European countries. Although we declared that we pursued a world policy considering the interests of all countries, our policy has practically narrowed down. The change is manifest in the current practice: Today we strive for developing relations with all countries, starting from the fact that it is not the size but the policy of a country that matters... now the small countries have new opportunities for playing a greater role. World policy ceased to be bipolar, based on two great powers or two blocs, it has really become collective.'

Nationality issues, Hungarian-Romanian relations: 'practically, as far as the approach is concerned, I can speak about the Soviet Union as well. We were convinced by our own experience that socialism itself could not solve these existing problems... the issue has become the matter of a real debate with the Arad meeting. Dialogue, even if it is difficult, is better than confrontation in any conflict.'

Views Soviet Perestroyka Dispute

LD1109215088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Interview with USSR foreign political observer Vadim Zagladin by unidentified reporter on "The Week" program; date, place not given]

[Text] [Presenter] Is it true that the opponents of the Soviet transformation and reform have gone on the offensive? What will become of perestroyka? The question preoccupies us by no means as distant enquirers, because the Soviet changes obviously have and could have an effect on the Hungarian reform endeavors. In recent days Vadim Zagladin, Mikhail Gorbachev's influential foreign political advisor, visited Budapest. He has given an interview to "The Week."

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The Soviet perestroyka has no more enthusiastic believers, moreover supporters, than the believers of the Hungarian reform. However, in recent times, we are a little fearful for the fate of perestroyka. Is this anxiety justified?

[Zagladin in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] First of all I have to say: We know that our Hungarian friends support the idea and practice of perestroyka and we highly appreciate this. All the more so because we have studied, and also today we study, your endeavors, and we have utilized them as well in our practice.

[Correspondent] One modest little part of them.

[Zagladin] Well, directly, perhaps yes; but direct copying is, after all, not an appropriate method. So, we have studied and adopted your methods, and much else besides. Now, with regard to the other part of your question, well, there is no cause for anxiety. I have to say that perestroyka is a very complex and lengthy process. For it extends to every area of social life: To the economy, to politics, to culture, to morals, to everything. In order that we might really be able to create something new qualitatively, time is needed, and not a little time. Perhaps we erred in that, right at the start; we did not speak clearly enough about the fact that this needs time.

From here originated the expectations, from here the expecting of immediate results. And yet, an immediate result is for the time being not yet visible. This gives rise, naturally, to certain moods. Moreover, let me put it this way, some disappointment, too. So, people are on the side of perestroyka, they believe in it, but they ask: Why the delay?

[Correspondent] Now, the reason why we are anxious. When Gorbachev leaves Moscow, as now, for example, on holiday, straight away quite strident antiperestroyka outlooks, moods, emerge. For example, in the spring, the memorable letter of Nina Andreyeva.

[Zagladin] But when the letter appeared Gorbachev was still in Moscow.

[Correspondent] He was then still in Moscow?

[Zagladin] Yes, he was still there. Look, it seems to me you are wrong in this. The party, the state leadership, which directs the perestroyka and puts it into effect—or rather, the people puts it into effect, the party only directs it—represent a united stand in this regard. Whether someone is present or not, that has no significance at all. Only, when Mikhail Sergeyevich travels somewhere, people pay more attention to certain speeches. But this sort of thing exists all the time.

[Correspondent] The debate goes on.

[Zagladin] The debate goes on. Now, what I would like to stress, regarding certain voices which sound odd both to us and to you, is that the debate in its entirety reflects the essence of the perestroyka. And the essence of the perestroyka is the perfecting of socialism.

[Correspondent] One of the members of the Politburo, Shevardnadze, in his speech stressed that the class character must not play a leading role in international relations. Another member of the Politburo, Ligachev, on the other hand, highlighted that the class character of foreign politics is very important.

[Zagladin] As far as I am concerned, perhaps I would formulate both thoughts a little differently, both this and that. But this already belongs to the socialist pluralism of opinions. Comrade Shevardnadze's thought started out from the idea that the content of the modern age, of the modern era, is less dependent on the existence of the two systems, that is on their struggle with each other. The quotation, of course, is not entirely accurate, but that was its essence.

[Correspondent] Such as, for instance, the global problems, the safeguarding of peace.

[Zagladin] Yes. Comrade Ligachev's thought was that international relations have a class character. There is truth in both this and that. I repeat, I would formulate both standpoints differently, but there is a third standpoint, too, which Comrade Gorbachev has formulated. Personally, this is the one that appeals to me most. Both the formulation and the thought itself. This is the one I like the most. This is how he expressed it: We are absolutely clear that international relations cannot be reduced to a struggle of the two systems. The world has many faces. From this point of view the world has not two but several poles. Several poles exist. There are various state systems, alliances, and so on. From all this follows the totality of complex, contradictory relations. And it is this that makes up the international relations of our time. And here is another topic, which neither one nor the other speaker mentioned. Quite simply, in my view, it would be incorrect to look for a contradiction here. Here it is rather a question of the difference of formulations, of the difference of emphases. Apart from that, it is is as if we were forgetting that Comrade Shevardnadze, too, was speaking about the indispensable nature of taking class interests into consideration. While, in international relations, he stressed the priority of pan-human interests. Comrade Ligachev, on the other hand, spoke first of all about class interests, and after that he mentioned the international interests.

[Correspondent] We are anxious about the fate of perestroyka for other reasons, too. Many of us, when we see on television the enormous demonstrations in Armenia and the Baltic states, are afraid that somebody will perhaps say: Enough of all this; we have to put an end to the whole process of perestroyka; we have to stop this process.

[Zagladin] Naturally there are such people. The question is close to the reality. There are some comrades who say: Is this perestroyka? This is chaos. And yet these phenomena, if we look at them in their totality, are not the consequences of perestroyka. They are the consequences of the fact that over long years the unresolved problems have piled up. As soon as the atmosphere of glasnost, the spirit of democratization, opened the windows and the doors, these problems were let out through them. I personally see no danger in the mere fact that people express their opinions in this way. Though at times I do not agree with the justifications and the manner of expression. And the demonstrators at times harm themselves. This is a different matter. The people, which in this field had no experience, expresses its feelings in these ways. Many of their demands are just, yes, many of their demands are just, this is a fact.

[Correspondent] Here, besides, are the unofficial organizations of citizens, which often represent a divergent standpoint.

[Zagladin] As I have been informed at the meeting here, in your country a whole series of new laws are under preparation, among others on organizations, on assembly, on trade unions, and so on. Well, the same kind of

laws are being prepared in the Soviet Union. I even asked some people: Say, are you speaking about yourselves or about us? [chuckles]

Now a legal process is being evolved in our country. We have stated that we have to be a constitutional state and for this we have to create the legal basis, which would be built on the principles of socialism, for the defending of socialism, which together with its own weaknesses, shortcomings, has already given the world many things, on the domestic and international arenas alike, which so far nothing else has done. Let us just see, would capitalism, I wonder, be so relatively peaceful and tractable, without socialism? Of course not. Wars could be raging between the individual countries for the various kinds of influences. This way it was different. Or would the colonial system have collapsed without socialism? Hardly. Therefore, we have to defend socialism. But the rules of law have to be clear: They may not infringe upon the rights of citizens, their freedom to express their mood and will. Well, we are now working on developing such a system. The thing is not simple, I know. In your country, too, there is a debate, in our country as well, in the sphere of lawyers, the experts. Then these laws, especially those of principled significance, will be submitted to social debate. The work, therefore, goes on.

The deadlines have not yet been precisely set in the case of every law. In certain cases there is a deadline already. The reform of the penal legislation, that is the debate and the adoption, will have to be completed already this year. The reform of the Constitution, about which the party conference passed a resolution, is set also for this year. The session of the Supreme Soviet will be in the second half of November, which will deal with this topic. Before then the draft has to be submitted to debate. This will take place, therefore, in the near future. After this the work will continue in the new Supreme Soviet, which will be elected in March of next year. The delegates to the People's Representative Congress will be elected next March. At their first session they will elect the Supreme Soviet, and that will convene in April.

[Correspondent] So, you are of the view that perestroyka, despite all appearances, is a new irreversible process, and our anxieties are unfounded?

[Zagladin] Yes. We can argue about the tempo and the forms of the implementation; there will be more debates, and we can learn a lot also from our own experiences. Just compare, for example, the resolutions of the 27th Congress and the party conference. You will see how much progress has occurred on the basis of our own experiences. This will still change. The tempo, the form, therefore, change; but in principle I think, no matter what or who should come—I say this on purpose—this thing can no longer be halted. Because it has already penetrated the people, and the people themselves will not permit it to be stopped. [end recording]

Meets With Officials

LD1209091088 Budapest MTI in English 0820 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—Vadim Zagladin, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and first deputy of the head of the Central Committee's [CC] International Department, visited Hungary at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. He met HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] President Janos Kadar, Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee, and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee.

Vadim Zagladin also met Gyorgy Aczel, chief director of the Social Sciences Institute, Geza Kotai, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the CC, and Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Foreign Ministry. Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the CC, held talks with Vadim Zagladin. At the meetings, talks focused on current international issues, the cooperation between the HSWP and the CPSU in issues relating to European security, with particular emphasis on new forms of all-European cooperation.

USSR's Gerasimov Meets Newsmen

LD0809201988 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Section of Information, who is in Hungary on a working visit at the invitation of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met senior Hungarian foreign policy journalists at a roundtable discussion and responded to questions.

During the discussion, which touched on several subjects, he explained, responding to questions on the relation of perestroika and Soviet foreign policy, that it is precisely in the field of foreign policy where the matter-of-fact and practical results of perestroika emerge. As an illustration, the spokesman mentioned the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, the first agreement leading to nuclear disarmament steps, troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, the implementation of the principle of equality of socialist countries amongst one another, and the 'rediscovery' of vast regions of the world, such as South America. Gerasimov also gave his opinion on Soviet foreign policy journalism. As he said, foreign policy journalists started transforming their work rather belatedly, in previous decades, their work had been characterized by the simplified and superficial coverage of events and proceedings. Correspondents working in socialist countries were in a particularly difficult position, since, for a long time, they had only been allowed to write articles with 'positive tones'. Now they were being encouraged to select issues boldly, but undoubtedly in some socialist countries, press publications were still considered as a sort of official opinion, and this was not

supporting the work of local correspondents. The Soviet Foreign Ministry had broken away with this approach and intended to help, not control, foreign policy correspondents.

On Soviet-Chinese relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, amongst other things, that his country had made efforts fully to restore contacts, including party contacts, and a summit of top leaders of the two countries was considered desirable. At the same time, he said the organization of such a meeting should not be linked to the solution of certain problems.

He went on to say that Soviet foreign policy was no longer placing emphasis on antagonistic conflicts, owing to the recognition that common interests are always present in relations, such as finding solutions to global problems or the avoidance of nuclear war.

There was no point in making theoretical debates about systems, he remarked, since it had been recognized a long time ago that the world could not simply be divided into two camps and painted black and white. Even more so recalling Lenin's idea that socialism would prove its dominance by force of economic example, because, at the moment in this debate, the socialist world would seem to be on the losing side.

'We endorse the national efforts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, but only so long as these symtoms do not grow into nationalism or separatism,' he emphasized, responding to a question. Such efforts could be seen in the Baltic republics, too, but, in his view, in these cases nationalism was not the issue. Rather, it was an interesting experiment, in which promising plans were involved, such as the idea of boosting the republics' economic independence and self-accounting economies.

Gennadiy Gerasimov described the pluralism of opinions in high levels of the Soviet leadership as 'natural'. As he said, at the recent party conference, different views had been expressed with complete openness and even personal debates had been aired. He called it understandable that the opinion of those who found criticism of the Stalin era exaggerated had also been made public in the Soviet press. 'In their view, this criticism might undermine the foundations of socialism, but in my view, it was simply done by Stalin when he completely destroyed Lenin's associates in the October revolution. Psychologically, it is understandable that, in old age, a lot of people are unable to grasp the removal of idols and others are scared that if the wave of criticism continues, it may affect their positions, too.'

Concludes Visit, Departs

LD0909205388 Budapest MTI in English 1446 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 9 (MTI)—On Friday Soviet Foreign spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's section of information, left Budapest after a visit on the invitation of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He met Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, secretary of the Central Committee, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, Gyula Horn, under-secretary of state for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Laszlo Major, head of the HSWP CC Bureau, and government spokesman, Gyorgy Marosan.

Gennadiy Gerasimov attended a roundtable with Hungarian foreign policy experts, visited the rock concert in Budapest's people's stadium on the anniversary of the universal declaration of human rights and saw the Budapest monument to Raoul Wallenberg.

Andics Claims Television Edited Interview

LD1109224488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 88

[From "The Week" program]

[Text] [Presenter] In our program last week you saw an interview about the lessons of the Nadudvar political consultation with Jeno Andics, head of the Party Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department. For reasons of time we broadcast an 8-minute interview from the 20-minute recording. One of the topics of the conversation was the participation, moreover the membership, of party members in the newly emerging associations and organizations. Because of the abridgement, Jeno Andics's full reply did not appear on the screen, and this gave rise to misunderstandings. Please take a look at this part of the interview just as it was recorded:

[Begin recording] [Presenter] I wonder, what should be the relation of party members to the various new movements? We could mention the Democratic Forum: Could a party member join?

[Andics] Look, this question can only ever be determined in concrete ways. It depends what kind of movement one is talking about. In this (?respect), too, a wide pallette will evidently come into being after the law has come into operation. Now, for the time being, since we have not even become used to such a practice, all I can say is that, on the one hand, we have to judge the role of the state and that of the party in different ways. The state has to evolve a partner-like relation with every legal movement, because this is the state's job. Compared to this, the party can determine its relation to the individual movements in a different way, because it does not necessarily have to like every legal movement. The state cannot do this; the party can.

That is what I would say in general. With regard to the participation of party members, I think that in the future, in those movements, associations, social organizations, which accept the party's leading role, which adopt programs that stand close to the party's policy, which do not necessarily clash with it, or which clash

with it in not too...[changes thought] or in points which still allow agreement to be created, in organizations of this type the participation of party members is possible. I would add: In my view it is even frankly desirable. Because, after all, the party is a movement; then, as a movement, it has to be present in every pore of public life; and this presupposes the membership of party members in these organizations. Although membership is naturally not decided by the party members in these organizations. Although membership is naturally not decided by the party but by the party member, or by the given "accommodating" [befogado]—I put the expression in quotation marks—organizations. If however they are open, then I think that this can be realized without further ado.

Obviously there will exist numerous organizations which will exercise very forceful criticism vis-a-vis the party's policy, which is not a problem in itself; or it will adopt objectives, principles, which significantly differ from the party's objectives, principles, and in a given concrete situation the party's various decision-making bodies will deem that the party members' participation as members is not desirable. (?But a) lawful organization in this event must also function in such a way, or it must mean, that the party members, even if they are not active members, the party members shall also go to those forums where these organizations conduct their practice of politicizing, and shall actively take part in these, once again from the self- same concept that the party is not a sect but a movement.

And finally, obviously there could be organizations which profess political or ideological views that are explicitly contrary to the party's. I would allude to the religious associations. Evidently the participation of the party, neither the membership nor the active participation of the members, is desirable in these. However, the sphere of these is strictly limited to this alone.

Therefore, what I would say, virtually, is this: that the party's stand toward the emerging movements, will not only have to be rethought, but also reformed. This can be done as soon as the legal frameworks of action, in their quality of guidance, are available both for the various social organizations and movements and the party. [end recording]

Further on Democratic Forum

LD1109204988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee will evolve its corporate stand on its relations with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] after that organization has been officially registered. Registration, however, will have to be preceded by the adoption of the law on association, so that the HDF might be allowed to begin operating according to the spirit and the letter of the new law. Party public opinion will receive in the fall prior guidance from the Central Committee about relations with the HDF.

Jeno Andics, head of the Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department, stated this to MTI.

He also explained why Hungarian television had rebroadcast last Sunday, in its program "The Week," a part of the interview he gave. He said that the recording had been edited in such a way that they had altered the sense of what he said about what should be the relations between the party and the organizations emerging as a result of citizens' initiatives. In Jeno Andics's view, it is desirable that party members should take part in the work of those organizations which accept the party's leading role, the idea of socialism. Party members may also be present at those forums which are organized by groups that do not contradict law and order, but which profess views that diverge from party policy. Here, however, they must represent the party's stand and principles, and their own convictions, and they may not become members, organizers, or activists. Nor can party members be active in the organizations which, from an ideological viewpoint, think in a completely different way, Jeno Andics said on television.

KISZ Organizes Week in Support of Reform

LD1109203888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] We have no time to wait for time. It is not we who said this; it is the appeal of the KISZ Budapest Committee, which has been conveyed to the young people. Let us step over our own limits. We must realize the radical reform of socialism, the appeal says further.

A series of events will begin tomorrow, outside the Technical University, with the title: Reform Party Evenings. The radio will give detailed information about these events in its "Morning Summit" program every morning.

[Unidentified correspondent] This huge parking lot has already been emptied on account of tomorrow's mass rally. How many people do you expect to come here?

[Unidentified man] Many. I could say that we are expecting people who want to join the aim of building democratic socialism here in this country. And also those who have the time, and who will not be taking part in other events.

[Correspondent] Could we hear, by way of a preview, a few attractive programs from this event?

[Man] I hope they will all be attractive. They will begin tomorrow, Monday, with a mass rally entitled "Toward democratic socialism." Then there will be a podium debate. Imre Pozsgay [minister of state] and Csaba Hamori [first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee] will be among the participants. Its title will be "Why did we take the wrong turn?"

And then on Tuesday there will be a lecture and consultations under the heading "The way to the future."

On Friday there will be a youth consultation for KISZ members and others, too.

We believe that these matters have to be confronted before a wide public, because otherwise the reform will remain just a word. The turnabout has already taken place in the domain of words, but it has not yet done so in reality.

[Correspondent] What is the guarantee that it will be different now?

[Man] The institutions, the new operation of the mechanisms which we are evolving together; that will be the guarantee.

Walesa, Solidarity Leaders Meet in Gdansk 10 Sep

Discuss Roundtable

LD1009102988 Hamburg DPA in German 0941 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—Around 40 members of the banned trade union Solidarity gathered for a meeting chaired by Lech Walesa in Gdansk on Saturday. They want to discuss their line of approach to the roundtable conference with the Polish political leadership and elect their delegates. The meeting is attended by the members of the National Executive Committee of the leading Solidarity body, as well as representatives of the strike committees from Jastrzebie in Upper Silesia, Szczecin, Gdansk and the steel works in Stalowa Wola and Nowa Huta.

It is the first meeting of the Executive Committee which has not had to be organized secretly. The participants and their advisors, including Zbigniew Bujak, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Bronislaw Geremek, Andrzej Wielowiejski and Zbigniew Romaszewski, went to Gdansk unhindered. On previous occasions they were often intercepted by the police on their way to Gdansk and arrested "as a precuationary measure." The venue for the meeting is a room belonging to St Bridget's Church, normally reserved for religious instruction.

On Sunday about 60 intellectuals involved with Solidarity will then meet in Gdansk. Participating circles have stated that on no account will they renounce their demand for trade union pluralism, in which Solidarity must have a place. The roundtable conference may start next week already. Only after that will the parliament be convened in Warsaw in order to decide the future of the government.

Leaders Back Walesa on Roundtable

LD1009142288 Hamburg DPA in German 1340 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Gdansk (DPA)—The leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union and representatives of the strike committees expressed confidence to Lech Walesa on Saturday about the upcoming roundtable negotiations with the political leadership. In a break in the discussion in Gdansk that Walesa said he was surprised by the participants' readiness and sense of responsibility. Many of them were fighters and he had expected them to make radical speeches. There was one thing they were all agreed on: "Solidarity must continue to exist." [passage omitted]

Asked whether he would meet Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak again before the roundtable discussion, Walesa said that this would only be decided on Sunday when Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, who is acting as mediator, comes to Gdansk.

The adviser Adam Michnik confirmed in a break in the discussions that the latter were proceeding in very calm manner and that all the participants supported Lech Walesa. They were of the unanimous opinion that Solidarity would have to be legalized sooner or later. Other conference participants reported that there had been lengthy discussions on the repressions against participants in the latest strikes. Thus around 200 workers at the Stalowa Wola steel works had been called up and were supposed to report to punishment batallions. In Upper Silesia around 350 miners had been dismissed for striking. Sanctions had also been imposed on 29 employees of the Gdansk northern shipyard. [passage omitted]

Statement Issued After Meeting

LD1009194688 Hamburg DPA in German 1900 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—The leaders of the banned trade union Solidarity declared on Saturday their readiness for talks with the political leadership and assured worker leader Lech Walesa of their support in his roundtable talks and contacts with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak. However, they expect an end to the repressive measures against the participants in the recent strikes and opportunities for lawful activity by Solidarity. A statement issued in Gdansk on Saturday evening says that the members of the Executive Committee and the chairmen of the strike committees had discussed the chances for political change in Poland following the recent events:

"We accept the proposals for talks and state that Solidarity is prepared for an agreement which will preserve its identity. We expect the leadership of People's Poland to declare its unambiguous readiness to create conditions for lawful work by Solidarity. Only the legalization of Solidarity will enable our trade union to participate effectively in the country's reform. Lech Walesa will have the support at these talks of the Executive Committee and of the strike committees."

The repressive measures against the participants in the latest strikes as well as the arrests, dismissals, and conscription inevitably undermine the leadership's credibility. "We expect an immediate end to these repressive measures and virulent propaganda in the media," the Solidarity leaders said after their conference. A favorable atmosphere must be created for the talks "which are to solve the country's fundamental problems."

It was learned in Gdansk that Walesa will probably have another meeting with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak before the roundtable talk planned for the end of next week. The Sejm will meet in Warsaw on 19 September to discuss the government's fate. The official trade unions intend to express a vote of no confidence.

Walesa, Solidarity, Intellectuals Meet 11 Sep

Express Support for Walesa

LD1109143388 Hamburg DPA in German
1352 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, (DPA)—The leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union, the chairmen of the strike committees, and a group of about 60 dissident intellectuals expressed their confidence in the planned talks with the party and government to Lech Walesa in Gdansk over the weekend. As a precondition for true dialogue between the "opposition of the citizens and the rulers" they mentioned the introduction of "unqualified pluralism", namely not just socialist pluralism, and the legalization of Solidarity. [passage omitted]

On Sunday some 60 dissident intellectuals met under the chairmanship of Lech Walesa and in the presence of the Solidarity leaders. In a resolution introduced by the former deputy Edmund Osmanczyk, they expressed their "full support" to Walesa for his negotiations. Osmanczyk added that the objective in Poland now is to achieve "the majority of citizens gaining control over the ruling minority." [passage omitted]

Among the participants in the conference with the intellectuals on Sunday were, apart from the advisers to Solidarity, director Andrzej Wajda; journalists Stanislaw Stomma, Jerzy Turowicz, Ryszard Kapuscinski, Stefan Kisielewski, physician Marek Edelman, and the former chairman of the progovernment Catholic PAX movement, Ryszard Reiff. Also present in one of the halls of the St Bridget Church were the Solidarity leaders and the chairmen of the strike committees of Gdansk, Szczecin, Stalowa Wola, and Jastrzebie. These chairmen of the strike committees, together with Walesa and his adviser Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be attending the roundtable talk. The official news agency PAP has reported that the parliament will be meeting in Warsaw on 19 September.

Call For Solidarity Legalization

LD1109204688 Hamburg DPA in German
1948 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Gdansk (DPA)—Around 100 Polish intellectuals and leaders of the Solidarity trade union on Sunday declared themselves ready to participate in true reforms but also demanded the legalization of Solidarity, freedom of association, and the freeing of the economy from the burdens of party bureaucracy and the nomenclatura.

At the conclusion of their discussions in Gdansk, they said that political reforms could not take place through "institutions created from above with partners selected by the leadership." They must happen through the cooperation of all social forces and the leadership.

The people's and workers' trust needed for reforms can only be achieved through a rapid legalization of Solidarity. The existence of two trade unions in an enterprise need not lead to conflicts and an escalation of wage demands. On the contrary, only authentic trade unions, recognized by the workers, can find solutions in the interest of the workforce and the enterprises.

To save the economy, capable people trusted by the people are needed. "Conscious of the political risk and despite bitter experiences in the past, we declare our good will and expect rapid, joint decisions." It is hoped the church will help in the search for a way out of the difficult situation in Poland. [passage omitted]

Walesa Defends Compromise as Concern for Country

PM1209083688 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
7 Sep 88 p5

[Interview with Lech Walesa, former chairman of Solidarity, by Franco di Mare in Gdansk; date not given]

[Text] Gdansk—"Enemies? I did not mean that: I meant that there were some people who misunderstood the significance of the accord, who believed I had betrayed them." Slumped in a rather kitsch easy chair—all inlaid black wood—the leader seemed tired. He spoke quickly and in brief bursts, as he passed his hand over his face, as though to wipe away the fatigue accumulated over the weekend. He had spent a very tough 72 hours traveling among the various mines and shipyards where Solidarity hard-liners wanted to continue their strikes. The encounter forced the Solidarity leader to commit himself and issue an ultimatum to his adversaries within the labor union on Saturday. Now, after a rest, Lech Walesa was granting his first interview to an Italian paper following the compromise, in a room of the vestry of St Bridget's Church. At last, relaxing over a cup of tea, he gave an account of his latest battle.

[Di Mare] So, Mr Walesa, who within Solidarity has attacked you? Who was responsible for the whistles at the Gdansk shipyards and the Jastzrebie mines that met the announcement of the accord with the government and the request to end the sit-ins?

[Walesa] I was not looking at who whistled. Despite what has been written, it is untrue that my proposal was approved by a narrow margin and that Solidarity split into two equal parts. Take the example of the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, where the most difficult situation was experienced. Well, 80 percent were with me. Then at the port the backing for my proposal was virtually unanimous, as it was at the dry docks. So what can we say?

[Di Mare] Yes, what can we say? You tell me.

[Walesa] Perhaps I do have an explanation. It is my very activity both within the labor union and outside it—which often forces me to maintain rapid and hasty contacts with my colleagues in the work place—that may have nurtured discord, to some extent. Several people at the Lenin shipyards believe that I am arrogant in my dealings with people, that I am remote from the reality of everyday work. They believed that I was dealing with the government on my own behalf, that I made a unilateral decision in order to assert myself. So there were rumors in the shipyards that the occupation would continue to the bitter end, despite the attainment of the accord which opens the way to negotiations, because I signed it without submitting it for prior approval by the interfactory strike committee. True, it was a decision that I made alone. However, I was authorized to negotiate and there was not enough time for me to consult. When I explained this, my position was understood and the strikes ended.

[Di Mare] It is said that the toughest opinions were those of the youngsters—those who were only 12 in 1981, when martial law was declared in Poland and Solidarity was forcibly disbanded. Is this so?

[Walesa] It is true, but only partly. The challenge did come from youngsters, but also from a number of labor unionists—colleagues of mine. You see, following the terrible experiences of the past many believed that the struggle should be continued until victory—recognition of labor union pluralism and Solidarity's legalization. I thought differently, however. Looking back over the past 7 years and over all that has happened in Poland, I realized that not too much pressure should be exerted. Our economy is falling apart. Not everyone is aware of the abyss that lies before Poland. Not everyone realizes how desperate the overall situation is. There is a group within Solidarity who lacked this overall awareness of the problem and took no account of the cost to the country of too long a trial of strength with the government. They demanded everything at once. I saw things differently, however. I am concerned about the future of the economy, the country's future, social peace. In my opinion, at the stage that the struggle had reached, these objectives could be achieved with a minimal effort, without heavy measures. This is why I signed. Was I wrong? Perhaps, but I was too concerned about Poland's future. My labor union colleagues must not make the mistake of condemning me for that. I did not betray anyone. It is not a betrayal to give the nation's problems priority over labor union matters. I repeat yet again: There is no freedom without Solidarity.

[Di Mare] Now the next step will be a roundtable. Are you pleased to have reached thus far? Do you believe there are real possibilities of resolving all the problems?

[Walesa] Do not believe that I do not have my doubts. I am entitled to them, too, after months of imprisonment and personal persecution. My main doubts, however, do not concern the amenability displayed by Solidarity by accepting an agreement with the government. My uncertainties concern, rather, the Warsaw government's real willingness to negotiate in earnest. Do they really want an agreement with us? You see, if we feel that we are being duped we will bring the country to a halt—and for much longer than we have done hitherto.

[Di Mare] You have been struggling for 18 years. How often have you felt tired? How often have you thought you could not carry on?

[Walesa] Sometimes—but I have never considered abandoning either the labor union or the shipyards. Not even now, when I could do so any time: I have a little money, my book (his autobiography, "A Path of Hope," published in Italy by De Agostini—L'UNITA editor's note) is selling well, I have bought a new house. If I am still struggling it is because I have shouldered a responsibility and because 10 years ago I made a pledge: I would not surrender until living conditions for all improved in Poland. That day is still a long way off.

Solidarity Union Leadership Members Interviewed

Bujak on Dialogue

PM1209095888 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 27 Aug 88 p 34-6 (Revista section)

[Unattributed interview with Zbigniew Bujak, a leader of the banned Solidarity union, in Warsaw; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] EXPRESSO: You were one of the leading figures of 1980. In light of your experience, how do you view the actions of workers now 20 years old, who led the May strikes?

Zbigniew Bujak: This is an extremely important issue. They are youngsters who were 13, 14, or 15 when Solidarity was born. The May strikes showed us that these youngsters want Solidarity, want to rebuild it, and to participate in it. They regard Solidarity as a powerful labor union capable of tackling labor problems but that also deals with politics.

EXPRESSO: It is said that these youngsters are becoming very radical and that Solidarity cannot control them....

Zbigniew Bujak: Not at all. True, these youngsters are radical because experience shows them that Solidarity alone is not enough; they want guarantees from the system, that is, a new constitution, a new Sejm. It is known that the government has now decided to give us everything —even seats in the Sejm. However, it absolutely refuses to hear talk of Solidarity. The youngsters will not yield on this. They know what they want and are determined to struggle for their labor union .

EXPRESSO: Do you personally feel any difficulties in struggling with them?

Zbigniew Bujak: None. Nor do I believe there are any major differences from the older generation. Of course we are older, less energetic, more cautious; we do not throw ourselves into strikes so impetuously. We have seen what happened with the Ursus strikes. It was undoubtedly the younger workers who pressed the older ones into it. However, they still need us in many fields. In all the factories they have been seeking older activists; they invite them to join the strike committees and want them at their side.

They also need us in order to formulate demands. When they call a strike they know more or less what they want: They want Solidarity, better wages, democracy, and freedom. However, they do not know how to achieve it. For instance, to demand a 30 percent increase and to relinquish even 20 percent, which is possible and realistic; to demand the reinstatement of dismissed workers and not to yield on this point; not to accept the reinstatement of 50 or even 70 percent of dismissed workers, because they must all be reinstated....

EXPRESSO: It is said that in September or October there will be another price hike and that further protests will occur. If there is a social explosion, do you believe that Solidarity is ready to lead it?

Zbigniew Bujak: This is very difficult to answer. There are always many imponderables. For instance, at the Ursus plant we had everything planned, down to the last detail. On the eve of the strike, however, the security services detained half the organizers and our plans fell through and had to be curtailed. We can prepare our people and organizations, but we do not know what will happen when the strike begins.

Apart from anything else, nobody can predict what form this explosion will take. A general strike? Very well, let us prepare ourselves within the enterprises; but we cannot rule out the possibility of people going into the streets and holding demonstrations, in which case our organizations would have to act completely differently.

EXPRESSO: All this depends on the definition of a strategy, however. Does Solidarity have a political strategy ready?

Zbigniew Bujak: The most difficult thing is formulating demands. We are saying in more and more detail what kind of economic reform we want and how the economic system should be. We say what kind of electoral system and what kind of local government law we advocate. We explain how we envisage the role of an autonomous second parliamentary chamber. It is just that the political conditions for all this to exist in practice are still lacking. However, what people expect from us is undoubtedly that we show them how to make the government give way, which is very difficult. The Polish situation will remain uncertain for some time.

EXPRESSO: Do you believe that the economic difficulties will induce the authorities to engage in a dialogue with the opposition or Solidarity?

Zbigniew Bujak: Unfortunately I do not believe so. Of course we are convinced that because of Poland's disastrous situation the regime must eventually accept a dialogue with the opposition and Solidarity and jointly formulate an economic program acceptable to society. There have already been numerous occasions on which they should have done so.

However, the government has never felt the need to conduct a dialogue with the opposition. In other words,the government will not give way easily. [passage omitted]

Sila-Nowicki on Roundtable

LD1009131688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] In line with our announcement, here is an interview by Anna Andrzejewska with the lawyer Vladyslaw Sila-Nowicki [Solidarity adviser and mediator during the spring strikes and recent strikes in Poland this year]:

[Begin recording] [Andrzejewska] Sir, how do you imagine the roundtable will be?

[Sila-Nowicki] It is difficult for me to say anything at the moment, still. However, I do believe, obviously, that authentic workers' representatives should also participate in this roundtable.

[Andrzejewska] Aren't you afraid that once more the table will be square, as we're used to square tables. Square tables for one person and a lot of microphones and everyone listening in silence.

[Sila-Nowicki] I don't think so. I think that at this table one is going to be able to talk quite freely and it won't be a table with one microphone. And generally speaking, the freedom of free speech has recently increased enormously in Poland. People don't even notice how greatly the possibility to freely express onself is expanding after all—it is coming to a stage when the press of the first circulation is really beginning to often compete with the press of the second circulation [meaning independently and illegally published]. However, unfortunately up to now for freedom of speech [word indistinct]. And this is what the current problem, on which progress is supposed to be made in some way by the roundtable, is about. I must say that both the statement by Minister Kiszczak and the following meeting between Minister Kiszczak and Walesa and the fact that Walesa helped to end the dangerous strikes which were still going on at the time in Poland, could form two break-through moments in our life. Quite simply, we have been presented with very great possibilities and one should only be incredibly careful not to waste them, as the possibilities were wasted at the end of 1981.

[Andrzejewska] Sir, you said that only workers should sit down at the roundtable.

[Sila-Nowicki] Also—not only—but also. Authentic representatives, let's say of those groups which were on strike, representatives of those workforces should sit down at the roundtable. It cannot just be a gathering of the intelligentsia or activists. There must be people there who took part in that, which lead among other things, to the roundtable.

[Andrzejewska] Some people are a little worried about the fact that the roundtable is to last a long time, we're in a hurry.

[Sila-Nowicki] Well it's a question of how the initiative is going to be carried out.

[Andrzejewska] The talks won't be easy, sir.

[Sila-Nowicki] The talks certainly won't be easy. However, even difficult talks if they are carried out well lead in a certain relatively short time to concrete results. We need concrete results, both on the part of the government and of the so-called opposition. I am filled with a certain optimism by the words of Minister Kiszczak, who said in our last talk together after the end of the strikes: It is a great fortune for us all that there are no victors nor vanquished here.

[Andrzejewska] Could the talks result in nothing?

[Sila-Nowicki] If we are to be (?in the least bit sensible) they must lead to something concrete. If they were to come to nothing it would be due to lack of common sense and I don't impute to either one side or the other—if it is a question of their authoritive representatives—a lack of common sense and lack of feeling for public interest, and quite simply lack of patriotism. [End recording]

Geremek on Strike Issue

LD1009195288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 88

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Announcer] In today's issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP I read that similar problems preoccupy the Hungarian and Polish sociologists conferring in Budapest. In both countries the reform of the economy and of the system of political institutions is on the agenda. Both for this reason and on account of the international relations of the developments in Poland, we follow with especial attention what is happening in the friendly country. We listen to the news, which commentators at times describe as sensational, for example that at the time of the strikes in the past weeks, which have for the most part ended by now. Minister of Internal Affairs Kiszczak held discussions without any preconditions with Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity. The name Solidarity, 7 years after it was banned, still says a lot today. But, let us admit, we know little about the principles, the ideology, on whose basis it functions, what its stance is on the crisis, on the possible ways of developing. To my knowledge this is the first time Prof Geremek, Lech Walesa's adviser, has been heard on Hungarian Radio. The reporter is Jozsef Laszlo:

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] It was in fact you who had put in the public mind the slogan that an anticrisis pact should be created in Poland. What does that mean now?

[Geremek in Polish fading into Hungarian translation] Above all I must say that at the time when we should have started these negotiations, when it would have been possible to try to define the common area between the various Polish political forces and orientations, then we missed this opportunity. It is for this reason that we are now paying the price. And the price is the strike, the growing dissatisfaction of the people. Is there a possibility now for the dissolution of tensions? I feel that there is. The potential has become difficult but it exists. However, its indispensible precondition is that we should recognize the sovereignty of the partner.

What does this mean? It means that the basic principles of power, the constitutional order, must be recognized. On the other hand, it must also be recognized that society has the right to have its representative. The embodiment of this can be Solidarity. Solidarity can be an answer to society's aspirations.

The latest strikes also prove this. This is the number one condition; this is the point of departure.

[Laszlo] I seem to recall that Minister of Internal Affairs General Kiszczak said the same thing, at least, something similar. And the leadership has said the same thing, too, for years, that the Constitution has to be recognized. This is a basic condition. But why is the use of the name Solidarity necessary for you, the other side?

[Geremek] Dear sir, this is not an intellectual question. This is not a question that can be answered on the basis of political analyses. The demands of Solidarity accord with those of the young workers. Take note that this is a new generation, not the generation of the former Solidarity activists. These young people were still at school when Solidarity still existed legally. They had not yet started to work, they had not yet started adult life. For this generation Solidarity represents a kind of guarantee.

[Laszlo] And do they, I wonder, know what Solidarity is, or do they just believe in some kind of myth?

[Geremek] Regardless of the fact that the legend of Solidarity informs the thoughts of this generation, these young people need to know that finally something depends on them as well.

[Laszlo] I do not quite understand this business. In today's world the trade unions, to put it politely, I would say, are losing ground. Let us just look at the developed industrial countries, where for 10-15 years they have been losing ground and where the trade unions no longer represent a progressive force.

[Geremek] You are right. Today the world's trade union movements are in a crisis situation. However, we have to be quite clear about an essential sociological difference: and this difference exists between the West and Poland. Today in Poland the working class, the working strata, are wrestling with the same problems that the working class in the West wrestled with in the 19th century. For example, you have the working hours, you have the 8-hour work day, which might look like the slogans of the 19th century worker demands. But this is timely also today. It was shown during this year's April and May strikes just how many hours the foundry workers do work in Krakow, Nowa Huta, in the Lenin steelworks. It transpired that the average working day was more than 12 hours, and this is so because the steelworkers must also undertake overtime and second shifts for their livelihood.

Now the miners have come forward, and it has transpired that they have only 2 free days a month, that is, they have almost continuously a 7-day working week. Many miners also undertake two shifts, they work overtime, because they cannot earn a living any other way. And then there is the problem of safe working conditions. This is another thing which in the developed countries has not been a problem for a long time now. In Poland more than half the workers employed in industry work with outdated techniques. They could easily be seen, for example, like the Manchester workers of the 19th century, about whom Engels also wrote.

[Laszlo] In the latest strikes there were also slogans saying: Death to the Communists. Professor, don't you consider this a dangerous phenomenon?

[Geremek] Eight years ago, in 1980, we signed the so-called social contracts. These agreements were signed by the ruling Communist Party representatives with the representatives of the striking plants, of the workers. This situation, however, has been overturned. I do not want to evaluate whose mistake that was, because I am biased. Poland entered a dangerous, explosive situation and spontaneous explosion caused by dissatisfaction is very, very dangerous. This dangerous situation can be averted only by sober, wise, foresighted action. If this comes about, I believe anticommunism will be the first thing to disappear. But this necessitates a favorable turnabout, and this has not yet happened.

Reprisals Taken Against Upper Silesian Strikers

PM1209114288 Paris LE MONDE in French 11-12 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Reprisals Against Numerous Strikers in Upper Silesia"]

[Text] Some 350 miners in Upper Silesia who took part in the strikes over recent weeks have been fired by management, according to well-informed sources in the area. These measures have been taken despite guarantees given by some of these managers that there would be no disciplinary firings and no legal proceedings.

In addition, the investigation started against 60 miners from the July Manifesto mine in Jastrzebie (in the south) for "organizing an illegal strike" is being "actively" continued. According to the same sources, the agreements reached there between the workers and the mine management, stipulating in particular that this investigation would be closed, have not been honored. The July Manifesto mine was the first to go on strike on 15 August and the last to resume work.

Finally, at the Stalowa Wola steelworks (in the southeast), which were also affected by the strikes, the former strikers received notices from the management on Friday morning stating that they would be penalized for "unjustified absence and participation in an illegal strike."

Lech Walesa is due to have another meeting in Warsaw next week with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak to try to obtain guarantees about trade union pluralism and the legalization of his organization, we learned from a reliable source on Friday.

Radio Show Invites Proposals on Roundtable

LD1209092188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] In view of the interest aroused among listeners by preparations for the roundtable meeting, the editors of the "Muzyka i Aktualnosci" program have announced that every day this week, during the transmission of the program, that is from 1605 to 1700 [1405 GMT to 1500 GMT], a telephone line with the number 44 72 71 will be open. You will be able, ladies and gentlemen, to report your proposals concerning issues and subjects that, in your opinion, should be discussed at the roundtable. We remind you: 1605 to 1700, the telephone number: 44 72 71. Proposals will be conveyed to participants of the meeting.

Appeal Made for Name of Officer's Killer

LD0909162588 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 9—A day before yesterday, the TRYBUNA LUDU daily published a letter by Jozef Kempski of Lodz. He appealed to "organizers of the

workers strike in the Stalowa Wola steel mill to reveal the name of a killer or names of those who provoked the murder of Lieutenant Turbakiewicz and turn them over to the arms of the law," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

Spokesman for the internal affairs minister Wojciech Garstka explained that the investigation into the case was under way and that at its present stage it was hard to tell unmistakably whether it had been a murder, a suicide or a fatal accident.

The authors of the statement which is read out at Stalowa Wola churches and of the communique signed by the so-called information commission of Solidarnosc decided in advance that it had been a suicide. It seems to be an unfair game on the part of those who so frequently and in a loud voice demand the truth and justice.

TRYBUNA LUDU Chief Editor on Strikes

AU0609115788 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 3 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Majka, spokesman of the PZPR Central Committee and TRYBUNA LUDU chief editor, by Michael Graber and Erich Feichtinger, in Vienna 3-4 September: "Poland Is Looking for Ways To Overcome the Division"]

[Text] VOLKSSTIMME: Since 1981 Lech Walesa has been considered a private citizen. Now there are suddenly negotiations with him on the situation in the country. How can this be explained?

Majka: In order to understand what is now happening in Poland, one has to go back a bit further and see the current actions as the result of the decisions of several Central Committee plenums. In 1980 and 1981 Poland suffered through a serious crisis and an economic collapse. Today we are still feeling the results of this crisis—in our living conditions and the division of the society. Poland is looking for ways to overcome this division. In this connection, everyone who respects the legal principles of this country and its social development is important.

A Place Must Be Found [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: Walesa is such a person now?

Majka: Since 1982 we have been observing the following principle with regard to national reconciliation: It is not important where one comes from but only where he wants to go. People who yesterday were against us are perhaps willing to participate in constructive solutions today. A place must be found for such people and their active work as citizens. We have not excluded anyone from these principles and we have never excluded Walesa's participation in this process.

VOLKSSTIMME: Does this mean de facto recognition of the Solidarity chief?

Majka: The party has repeated its view that there will be only one trade union in the enterprises. There are no sensible reasons to reestablish a second trade union. In our society there is a place for all those who still identify themselves with Solidarity, there are opportunities for them to participate in the discussion and in the social development. We did not hold our talks with Walesa as the representative of Solidarity. We talked to a man whom some circles consider an important person. This dialogue is held not only with him but with a great number of representatives of various social forces—also of the opposition.

VOLKSSTIMME: Jaruzelski spoke about a constructive opposition and a destructive opposition. To which does Walesa belong?

Majka: It is difficult to answer this question. Recently, when he participated in the strikes, his attitude was destructive. The Central Committee clearly stated that organizing these strikes cannot be justified in any way, and neither can one justify the damage caused by these strikes. However, it is difficult to say which position Walesa will represent in the future, what he will propose, and what he thinks about the continuation of the entire matter. What is important is the fact that we are working on a model of a state, where there will be dialogue between party and opposition instead of confrontation. Optimum compromises can be sought in this dialogue, under the condition that they correspond to the country's constructive goals—that is, to progress on the basis of socialism. One can also come to an understanding on individual things with people who reject socialism in general but accept part of its values.

Strikes in 20 Enterprises [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: Apropos understanding: What about the demands posed during the strikes? Was it not possible to come to an understanding on them?

Majka: One has to understand that, as a result of negative factors in our economy, the increased inflation, and the lack of goods, discontent has increased. Demands for higher wages resulting from this were, however, linked by the organizers of the strikes with other—political—demands. You must also not forget that only 20 enterprises—of about 7,000 large enterprises in Poland—were involved in the most intensive stage of the strike. And in none of these enterprises were the majority of the workers on strike. Large groups of workers did not agree to the strikes.

VOLKSSTIMME: What about the demands of those who did not participate in the strikes but are dissatisfied nevertheless?

Majka: In many Polish enterprises there were harsh talks between trade unions and the enterprises about demands for higher wages, and also about working conditions and other issues. There the questions were solved within the

law. Of course, there are also a number of enterprises which cannot meet the demands for higher wages—sometimes it was demanded to double the wages—because of their economic situation. During the talks realistic solutions have been reached. In principle, there are a great number of possibilities to express one's own opinion and to participate in decision-making.

VOLKSSTIMME: One has heard much about the strikers. But what about the party members in the enterprises? How much influence and support does the PZPR have?

Majka: One can say that about 9 to 12 percent of the workers are party members. In many enterprises the party is more firmly rooted, in others it has less influence and is less active. Recently, its influence has been weakened by the failure of the price and wage policy.

Decision and Responsibility [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: The Central Committee held the government responsible for the negative phenomena in the economy. Is this not a bit too simple?

Majka: The model of socialism we are about to establish must include the right of the government and of parliament to make decisions. However, this entails responsibility. Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that we have a coalition system of several parties and groups both in the government and in parliament. However, as Jaruzelski also said at the plenum, the delineations of authority are still too unclear and must be improved. We mainly criticized the government because of its lagging pace in many fields. The final assessment of the government's work will be made by parliament, which will analyze the economic development of the first half of 1988 at its next session.

VOLKSSTIMME: What should the future social and economic policy be like in the view of the party?

Majka: The most important thing is to reduce the speed of the steady increase of wages and prices. This does not, however, mean a general halt to increases. We intend to eliminate disparities. The salaries of the teachers, for instance, have just been raised, those of people working in the health sector will be next.

VOLKSSTIMME: What else is planned?

Majka: An improvement of the market situation. Machinery and equipment for the production of consumer goods and consumer goods themselves at a total value of $0.5 billion are to be imported. Our enterprises will get export subsidies only if they meet the requirements of the domestic market at least as well as last year.

VOLKSSTIMME: How is the price reform to be corrected?

Majka: A commission consisting of representatives of the most different social groups is to submit to parliament proposals for reshaping the wage and price system. Furthermore, we are preparing a plan to help eliminate the unfavorable phenomena in our economy within the next 2 years. This also includes the closing down of unprofitable enterprises and integrating them into larger units.

VOLKSSTIMME: And the "broader social understanding?" What will it be like?

Majka: It will be promoted by a great number of measures. One example: We will considerably expand the already existing Consultative Council to the State Council chairman, which also includes opposition members, and we will also expand the range of topics that are discussed there. It is to develop into a council of national understanding. With a special authorization of parliament, this council will, for instance, decide on the basis of the next parliamentary elections and on the amendment to the election law.

PRON Executive Committee Meets 12 Sep

LD1209115988 Warsaw PAP in English
1124 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—The Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON is discussing here Monday the creation of a coalition of reformatory forces and broadening of the platform of dialogue, and is assessing the socio-political and economic situation of the country.

The debate, attended by heads of PRON voivodship councils, is chaired by PRON President Jan Dobraczynski.

Opening the discussion, PRON General Secretary Stanislaw Closek briefed the meeting on the current socio-political situation in the country. He said that at present one should seek rational and non-commonplace solutions. The deep and radical economic reform should correspond with radical changes in Poland's political system.

The Executive Committee is expected to assume an attitude on taking and expanding broad social dialogue aimed at strengthening the reformatory forces.

Economic Reform Committee Holds Meeting

LD0909195588 Warsaw PAP in English
1910 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 9—The government committee for the implementation of the economic reform held a meeting here on Friday chaired by Vice-Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski.

The committee acquainted itself with the current activity of the antimonopolistic body, presented by Secretary of State in the Finance Ministry Wincenty Lewandowski.

The meeting ordered [as received] to urgently analyse and specify the presented list of enterprises which are to be divided under the special powers.

The committee examined and accepted the draft governmental correction to the bill on undertaking the economic activity. The proposed amendments would simplify the law under preparations and broaden the economic reform stemming from it.

Sejm Economic Reform Committee Meets

Participants' Views Noted

LD0909222488 Warsaw PAP in English
2130 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 9—"We have planned to adopt today a report on our session. However, to achieve a more objective vision, we have considered it purposeful to ask more experts, including those who are traditionally critical analysts of the economic situation, to present their suggestions," Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska said, opening on Sept. 9 another session of the Sejm Extraordinary Committee for monitoring the implementation of the economic reform.

On behalf of the Socio-Economic Council Jerzy Sablik presented the working team's opinion on this issue. The causes of the successive wave of strikes require a keen analysis and must be taken into consideration, he said.

The right assumptions specified in the program of the second stage of the reform basically differ from a reform which reaches enterprises in the form of legal regulations and their elaborate interpretation, Sablik went on to say.

The team thinks it urgent to start work on radical elimination of unnecessary and redundant regulations. The team regards it as necessary to work out a new tax policy as a systemic solution. It also postulates to introduce openness as concerns responsibility.

In the current situation indispensable is a deep reform of the political system of the state, which may create a real chance for restructuring the economic life. To save our economy, it is necessary to immediately and radically limit investment outlays in the heavy industry, Sablik stated.

According to Prof Stanislaw Kuzminski the most important are inflation curbing measures already taken and to be taken by the government.

Prof Augustyn Wos was of the opinion that government documents did not try to answer the question concerning the causes of the failure of the reform.

"The general criticism of the advancement of the second stage of the economic reform does not ensue from the unfriendly or subjective attitude of society to the government but from indisputable facts," said Prof Jozef Kaleta. According to him such facts are the unsuccessful price-income operation, failure to make more feasible the basic economic parameters of prices, bank rates and money, inability to get closer to the state of market balance and to limiting subsidies and fiscal stringency.

Prof Karol Sobczak pointed to several essential issues in the reforming process. According to him it is necessary to settle what the ratio between politics and economy should look like at the level of enterprises. Efficient economies exemplify that firms do not engage in politics but only realize technological processes. It is also unjustified to generally maintain the special status of state enterprises.

Prof Jozef Pajestka whose opinion was read out viewed the process in question as moving forward but admitted that changes did not bring fast economic effects. They are also hampered by attitudes assumed by personnel and some institutions.

Vice-Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Waclaw Martyniuk presented suggestions ensuing from the recent session of the OPZZ Executive Committee. Unionists have taken a stand that many erroneous solutions were persistently implemented by the government, he recalled. The government did not take into consideration suggestions addressed to it. Unionists are also of the opinion that goals which the economy was to accomplish are increasingly remote, and the situation has worsened in many fields. Giving the vote of censure for the government, unionists stated that the continuation of such a policy threatened with ever greater social unrest in the nearest future.

On behalf of the socio-economic initiatives commission at the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) Assistant Prof Andrzej Sopocko said that the commission had many times pointed to material stimuli lacking in the program of the reform.

Said Sejm deputy Aleksander Legatowicz (no party affiliation): "Taking into account critical opinions, it is necessary to ask the question: What should the attitude towards further activities of the government be. The significant difficulty lies in the fact that the implementing timetable of the program of the second stage was meant for three years. We are at the start of this period. At the same time the government has demonstrated what it is able to do, and this has not been socially approved of. This puts the government in the exceptionally difficult situation, disturbs its stability and makes its actions nervous and little considered."

Representatives of the government took a stand on opinions voiced by advisers, experts and deputies. Domestic Market Minister Jerzy Jozwiak announced that measures would be taken to double the pace of an increase in the supplies of consumer goods from 3-4 percent to 6-8 percent annually in the next few years. He informed those present on considerably limiting the range of rationing and central distributing.

Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik pointed to limitations in introducing model changes in the financial system. He confirmed that the financial situation of enterprises was really much differentiated. Many opinions overlook the problem of the influence of debt on the state of the economy, he stressed. In fact, debt servicing makes it necessary to find in the budget a sum of some 700 billion zlotys per year. It is also in this context that the charge of excessive fiscal stringency should be examined.

Vice-Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski underscored that the Polish economy needs stabilisation. At the same time the government cannot peacefully realize the program of the second stage of the reforms as it continually faces demands for providing fast effects. This leads also to disorganization in the work of the government.

Facts should appear in every concrete evaluation, Sadowski continued. Whereas the government is blamed for all economic defects and shortcomings, including those inherited against which it has been trying to fight. That is why I do not agree with the opinion on the year lost for the second stage of the economic reform, like with the previous opinion on five years lost.

Directly after the end of the committee's session teams which it set up gathered to prepare its draft opinion.

Sadowski Interviewed on Debate

LD0909201588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Let us begin with a report from the Sejm. The Sejm Extraordinary Commission has met for the second time in September. The deputies, apart from representatives of the government, invited trade unionists from the OPZZ, representatives from the Socioeconomic Council, from PRON, and from independent experts. They discussed what had failed in the reform and what had to be changed for it to bring faster results. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] First, in the critical discussion here, the formula and the accusation are often [word indistinct], both from the side of the deputies and from the side of experts and economists; whereby there is a lack of swift results of the reform. Could you comment?

[Sadowski] I think this accusation is perfectly natural since, as we know, there is great impatience for these results. Of course, in the assessments of experts today, in particular, it was very clear that every assessment requires a very in-depth analysis; the experts made such an analysis, at least in the main. I think this is an undoubtable achievement in this Extraordinary Commission meeting, since it is just such an assessment that we are all after. We want an assessment that shows the contradictions in this process, an assessment that gives answers to the question of what the braking elements really are—well, some people want to answer this question in this way—that the braking el.ment is the incompetence of the government, period. This is one of those easy answers to give, an attractive one, but in fact not a serious one.

However, the essence of the matter lies considerably deeper, since there are problems that the Polish economy must constantly solve, which, by the way, is true not just of the Polish economy. Very many countries around the world have entirely similar problems and cannot solve them. The essence of the matter lies in this, that every government will have to solve these problems. However, the question of whether this can be done faster is a fundamental one, and surely this is what everyone is after. But one thing must be emphasized, that faster does not mean disorderly, based on pressure for improvised operations, for great enterprises to be liquidated tomorrow, or whatever. Of course they must be, but this must be very carefully prepared. There are no violent moves in the economy, there should not be. Similar to the driving of a car. [end recording]

Adviser on 'Shock Treament' Needed for Inflation

PM0809133588 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 11 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with Dr Grzegorz W. Kolodko, assistant professor at the Main School of Planning and Statistics and adviser to the chairman of the Polish National Bank, by KAR correspondent Zdzislawa Jurczynska; date, place not given]

[Text] [Jurczynska] The first part of your book, "Poland in the World of Inflation," is preceded by a teasingly provocative quotation from the American economist John Kenneth Galbraith. The essence of the quotation can be expressed as follows: "Economic truths fail miserably in confrontation with political exigencies." Why did you select this motto?

[Kolodko] I chose it to introduce the part of my book entitled "The World," although it also applies to socialism, including socialism in Poland. Inflationary processes affect virtually all national economies, although the degree to which they affect them varies quite considerably. One could even say that these processes constitute one of the signs of our times. In choosing that particular motto I wanted to highlight their extremely complex nature. Of course, not all economic truths—and not always—lose out to politics. But it does happen when a conflict occurs between economic laws and political exigencies. It happens when a government does not

possess sufficient power or sufficient abilities essential to resolve the mounting conflict, and attempts to resolve them by trying to distribute more than the economy has produced.

The repeated wage increases, unsupported by production, which we have been witnessing in Poland for a long time now are surely the best corroboration of this thesis. The same argument applies in the case of the latest price increases for state-contracted agricultural produce and the question of the parity of incomes between inhabitants of urban and rural areas. All these instances are merely attempts to resolve the growing structural discrepancies precisely by means of a policy which intensifies inflation.

[Jurczynska] Why is the battle against inflation such uphill work, despite the unquestionable effort we are putting into it?

[Kolodko] Above all else, it is largely affected by the very high parameters of all the factors which cause inflation and the scale and range of these processes. Here I would give pride of place to the inflation-inducing nature of our national economy. It is manifested in the fact that supply of consumer goods fails to increase in step with the flow of money. This is, among other things, the consequence of the predominance of the means of production. As a result, industry works mainly to meet its own needs and consumes its own products. We have too many traditional branches of industry—for example, the steel industry or the extracting industry. Consequently, it is becoming more and more urgent to change our production structure. Our economic reform also contains inflationary factors.

[Jurczynska] This is simply difficult to believe. After all, the reform is supposed to take us out of the inflationary crisis....

[Kolodko] That is true, but we must not forget that it is being implemented in circumstances where demand overtakes supply. People are chasing goods, not the other way around. This state of affairs inevitably leads to the activation of certain price adjustment processes which produce inflation as a consequence. Nor does our economic policy favor inflation-stemming procedures. It is simply too soft. As a result, it is unable to counteract a certain degree of inbuilt momentum, especially in the sphere of prices and wages. And this propels the upward spiral of inflation.

[Jurczynska] All this sounds none too optimistic. But you also said once that the worst phase of inflation was already behind us. Is this true?

[Kolodko] Yes. We have already gone through and emerged from the so-called "barbarian" phase of inflation which completely ruins the market and seriously hampers the effectiveness of the economy. That phase reached its peak—so we sincerely hope—in the years 1981-82. Although this year's economic results are not good, everything depends on the relative scale of things. The year 1988 is worse than 1987 but incomparably better than 1981, when there were no goods in the stores at all, or 1982, when price increases exceeded 100 percent.

[Jurczynska] That is cold comfort. After all, today we have one of the highest inflation rates, already reputed to have reached 60 percent. On the other hand, we are plagued by massive shortages of market goods. What is going to happen next?

[Kolodko] It is true that inflation is very high. Moreover, it is generated by prices and supplies. In my opinion this is a definite pattern which confirms the thesis that all economies attempting market-oriented reforms must go through this phase of inflation just as capitalism has been going through a phase of stagflation, that is, price inflation combined with unemployment.

[Jurczynska] Do we really have to pay such a high price for the process of institutional reform and for adjusting the economy to match the challenge of the modern time? For example, could we not have avoided those sudden price hikes by raising prices in a smooth, gradual movement?

[Kolodko] That is not only possible but virtually essential. The trouble with our recent price and income adjustments was the assumption that a one-off operation could result in limiting the scale of subsidies and, with a certain drop in real wages, reducing the extent of market imbalance. However, here in Poland such an operation was bound to result in wages going up far more than expected, followed by all the attendant inflationary consequences. As I have already said, our particular type of inflation is price- and supply-generated. Consequently, it is not sharp price increases which can reduce the imbalance but a certain liberalization of the principles whereby prices are decided. Switching over to a system of negotiated prices, which is feared both by politicians and the public, could result in lessening the effects of the imbalance—provided, of course, that the liberalization of pricing principles is accompanied by a policy of firm financing and that the money supply is strictly controlled. In short, it is necessary to achieve a situation where money is in short supply. This is because today the commodities in short supply are, among others, cement, steel, meat, shoes, dollars, and so on. On the other hand, virtually everyone has enough zlotys.

[Jurczynska] Except for those who do not have them. A recent Sejm debate has shown that the state does not have them either.

[Kolodko] What I said was, of course, something of a simplification, but not too much of a simplification. Every attractive commodity, even if it is extremely expensive, disappears from store shelves in no time at all. Color television sets are an excellent example. As

regards the state, a large proportion of resources simply trickle away. There is not too much money in the budget, and what there is does not get allocated as it should.

[Jurczynska] During his 25 June meeting with the winners of the TRYBUNA LUDU award (yourself being one of them), Wojciech Jaruzelski said in reply to your claim that it is not economists who are responsible for a state's economic policy: "It is a measure of the complexity of the situation that even economists themselves are not unanimous in their assessment of it, as the debate on the formula for the second stage of the economic reform demonstrated. What we want is to introduce institutional changes without making elementary mistakes, but remembering all the time that we cannot avoid difficult patches or the necessity to make sacrifices."

[Kolodko] I think that indicates that, in a way, the general confirmed the ineffectiveness of the anti-inflation policy to date and the lack of consistency in its implementation.

[Jurczynska] But will there be enough consistency now?

[Kolodko] Now, in addition to an integrated policy and resolute consistency in its implementation, we must add another factor: radicalization. I do not believe in the feasibility of a gradual battle against inflation. In my opinion, that would lead us even deeper into trouble. We might even end up with Yugoslav-style inflation. This year's high inflation rate might continue for many years to come.

[Jurczynska] What an apocalyptic vision...

[Kolodko] I agree. The more so because such a state of affairs would be tantamount to the death of the reform. If we are to prevent that, we need anti-inflation shock treatment today.

[Jurczynska] What would this involve?

[Kolodko] It would involve forcing our economic enterprises to adjust their operations so that they do not generate inflation. We are chiefly interested in introducing desirable structural changes, real economies, and so on.

[Jurczynska] What might encourage enterprises to launch such operations?

[Kolodko] Certainly not a price reform. The Polish market cannot be balanced by means of price adjustments. We have already experienced this truth in a sufficiently painful way. But that does not mean that prices should not be raised. Some of them most certainly should, for example car prices.

[Jurczynska] They have just gone up by 40 percent.

[Kolodko] That still does not balance the market. And today market balance must be given top priority. But it cannot be achieved in relation to all market goods at once. Consequently, we should try to achieve it wherever we can. Every person who has the money should be able simply to buy a car from a dealer, without a coupon system, without having to go through the black market or resort to shady schemes.

[Jurczynska] With prices like that, a car will become a luxury which few will be able to afford.

[Kolodko] High prices will not cause a shortage of cars. On the contrary, in time there will be more cars. In any case, that was just an example. Let me reiterate: We need shock treatment to combat inflation. Otherwise we are in danger of allowing the reform and the economy slowly but progressively to decay. Moreover, the radical, iconoclastic solutions and operations proposed today may seem to us mere liberal pranks in a few years' time, when we have to face a much higher level of inflation than the one we have today. Time is pressing us on. The less correct Galbraith's statement turns out to be, the better for us.

Rakowski Defends Country's Past Achievements

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1536 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 11—In a report headlined "Are Seven Years Lost." TRYBUNA LUDU carries yesterday a fragment of a statement by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary, during a meeting with Warsaw PUWP activists here on September 7.

"A saving about the seven lost years has been in fashion for a few weeks. It was not our party to forge it," said Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and added that "It was our adversaries, more or less clearly avowed political opponents, who started to promote it. The point is to persuade public opinion that those who wield power have either done nothing or little to change Poland's image. Thus it has been suggested that everything that was done in the years 1982-1988 in the economic and social life should be considered as sham and insincere movements. Let us leave no room for doubt. If these seven years were lost, the conclusion is obvious. The PUWP, as it is mainly the point, has failed as the driving force of changes awaited by the nation."

"Agreeing with those who speak of seven lost years does not mean anything else but a consent to distort the historical truth. It means crossing out great efforts put in by hundred thousands of employees of the national economy, people of science, active members of political parties, deputies to the Sejm (Polish parliament), and activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) in making Poland's face completely different from the one it had till 1980," M.F. Rakowski went on.

"Above all, the national economy. It is truth that probably no one is satisfied with its state today, but undoubtedly it (the national economy) jumped off the bottom of the crisis and entered a stage of animation and production growth," stressed he.

"However, everything I said did not mean that I believed more could not have been done. It could have, though the assessment of mistakes and weaknesses should include realities that existed at a given time. I defend achievements - yes, achievements—of the past seven years not because I took part in the process of changes but in the name of truth, historical truth today," Rakowski said.

Orzechowski on Need for Party To Change

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[Article by Politburo member Marian Orzechowski: "The Party in the Face of New Challenges"—this article, which was written in connection with the session of the 5 September PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission and of the team preparing the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference, expresses the author's personal views—TRYBUNA LUDU note]

[Text] The basic issue of all discussions about Poland and its future, as well as about socialism and its shape, is the place and role of the Marxist-Leninist party.

As it has several times before, the party has now reached a turning point and is facing a great trial.

The party must consider anew its place and must find the necessary methods and forms of its leading role. It must meet the spreading postulates that it should devise a new party model and a new concept of its guiding role in society, its leading role in the state, and its role as a servant of the people and the workers class.

Various contradictory views continue to clash in the ever spreading discussions about the past, present, and future role and place of the PZPR in the lives of the people and the state.

Some people would like to consider the party as lost or to reduce its function to a constitutional embellishment, some continue to lament that it is losing its trust and position in society, and some think that the party can cure all its weaknesses and difficulties by limiting itself to the "sphere of the spirit" and to the role of the "collective intellectual" and the "producer of ideas and programs."

Some people even doubt whether the PZPR is capable of becoming a party that is genuinely a different party ("the same party, but not quite the same")—a party of a new type.

We counter those views by the deep conviction, which is based on the historical traditions of our party and all socialist forces in Poland, that we will be equal to new challenges as the party and as party people.

Changes in the party are now an irreversible process, which was initiated by the ninth party congress. These changes have continued, consolidated, and developed in the past few years and are being accelerated by the present stormy events and processes. Many party members as well as the workers class and people think that these changes are too slow and that their direction is not transparent enough.

The transformation of the party is not taking place in a social vacuum. The party continues to transform itself under the impact of changes that are taking place within our society as a whole. In order to guide these changes and to invest them with a meaning, and in order to win our people over to socialist ideals and goals, it is necessary to organize people's collective efforts.

The new and desirable model of the party, one which we are developing now—2 years after the 10th party congress—must fit in with the changes occurring in our society; with the emerging trends; with the burgeoning new needs and interests; with social, political, and cultural aspirations; and with new platforms and methods of articulating and satisfying these aspirations.

The party has always had two choices in the face of a new situation and social changes. The first was to procrastinate in reacting to or to completely ignore the "signs of the times," and the second was to resort to the tested methods of running the government and guiding social processes. The essence of those methods was and still is distrusting the people, treating them as subordinates, and rejecting the simple truth that other people are also clever and even more clever, that they can be right and have good ideas for jointly solving various problems. That distrust is also expressed by a profound aversion to giving up anything that has ever been encompassed by the party's decisions.

The other choice is to be ready to keenly watch the "signs of the times," to thoroughly respond to social changes (after they have been consistently analyzed), and to politically influence their nature and direction. This is precisely what we should do.

This will be possible only if the party fully and consciously (and not under the pressure of external processes and events) opens itself to the people and learns how to use the people's wisdom, abilities, and experience.

This is an elementary conclusion from the fact that the party should express not only, although primarily, the interests of the workers class, but also the interests of the nation.

The all-national role of the party, its national duties, and its national responsibility for the present and future existence of the entire national community (this is not only a moral responsibility and responsibility "before history") give rise to many theoretical and practical problems and dilemmas and require a new examination.

First, we must on a daily basis draw new conclusions from the old truth that socialism cannot be the sole work of party members and their allies or of the workers class.

Second, we should take a different look at our own people and take them as they are and as they have been shaped by their history and modern times. We must trust our people. We must trust their creative strength, their ability to make sacrifices, and their common sense at momentous times.

It is impossible to "dissolve" and "change" the community and the nation. It is possible and necessary to shape and change them, but only if we are wise and farsighted. When doing this, the party must make every allowance for the different needs, interests, attitudes, and aspirations present in the divided society.

The PZPR is now facing the old problem, which was seen by Marx and even better by Lenin and which is appearing with a new force now: How to be a force that is effective in stabilizing the system and its basic scheme of values and, at the same time, a force of reforms and a party of social unrest and discontent with the situation, a party of social changes and of opposition to whatever is incapable of passing the test of time, and a party that not only keeps abreast of changing reality, but is also able to outstrip reality, to predict its development, and to shape it in line with the goals and ideals that are responsible for the fact that the party was at one time able to take power and to win for it the necessary social support.

The party must also adjust the principles, forms, and methods of action and the style and climate of internal party life to that role and function.

An important lesson stems from past experience, namely, that the true scope of democratism in the political system (and in the people themselves) has always been a function of democratism within the party. The more democracy in the party, the more we have of it outside the party—in the political system and in social organizations. Conversely, the less democracy in the party, the less there is outside the party.

Internal party democracy thus becomes the necessary premise of democracy in the state and in the people and of their trust in the party. In its present shape—as a party of the old type so to speak—the party will be unable to be equal to the new situation and new challenges. They can be mastered by the party of a new type—a party that has been thoroughly "remodeled" in a truly evolutionary manner. This is how we should interpret the decisions made by the three most recent plenums of the Central Committee. Large numbers of party aktivs and rank-and-file members are well aware of this fact.

But this must not amount to a customary return to the party of a "new type" in the Leninist meaning of the word. The present situation is different and the tasks facing the party are different. It is necessary to "remodel" the party by not only returning to the Leninist principles, but also by fully exploiting the experience of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party in the years of 1944-48, by comprehensively reviewing and evaluating our own good and bad experience of the past few years, and by consulting the lessons of the restructuring in the USSR and of the changes in other socialist countries.

It is still the party that holds the key to solving Polish problems and dilemmas. The use of that key for the benefit of the workers class, the people, and the socialist state depends primarily on:

—The party's courage to limit by itself its power and its management of social processes;

—Flexibility in opening itself to the needs of the people and of the political forces that express the aspirations and efforts of various segments of society;

—Determination and skillfulness in defending the constitutional principles of socialism, principles which need to be unequivocally redefined;

—The depth and character of such changes in the party itself that it really becomes a party of "the new type" in line with the challenges of the modern times and the tasks of socialist construction at the end of the 20th century.

We all need a fighting party and a truly vanguard party. We do not need a party that administers, manages, and is in charge of officialdom. Only the ideological, moral, and political ties among party members can be the basis of the necessary internal cohesion of the party, of its ability to act effectively and to maintain general discipline and self-discipline, and of its sense of responsibility for all of it.

"Remodeling" the party in this way should be done along several paths.

The first path is to concentrate the party's intellectual and political-organizational efforts on the key strategic issues of socioeconomic and political development, of predicting this development, and of devising alternative programs. The party must give up attending to many issues so that it is able to most effectively solve those which are most important. Even today the party continues to limit itself in its commitments and to delimit the scope of its activities with increasing clarity.

It seems to me that it is counterproductive to list all the tasks that the party should tackle and all those it should not. As in the case of every political party, our party must attend to all basic issues that result from its guiding role vis-a-vis society, from its leading role vis-a-vis the state and economic apparatus, and from its role as a servant vis-a-vis the people's interests and the people's political representation in the form of the socialist state. It must attend to all those issues that create and determine this role.

This means that the role of the party includes and will include whatever concerns the fundamental, decisive, and long-term interests of the people, society, the workers class, and the state.

Fundamental, decisive, and long-term interests are not terms that are unchangeable. These interests are historically changeable, although it is always possible to define them accurately. It is also always possible to single out from among them that proverbial "main link." For example, that "main link" is today the state of the national economy—the economic threat to our present and future national existence.

However, the question is not only what the party is supposed to deal with, but also the way in which it is meant to do so. Much that is correct and incorrect has already been written and said on this subject. Unfortunately, not much of it has found its way into practice. That is why the things that have been written and said are still valid.

The PZPR is an ideological and political force. This should provide permanent and far-reaching conclusions. The party leadership possesses, mainly but not exclusively, an ideological and political nature. That means that the party leads, directs, and serves; not governs and manages. Governing is the affair of the government and state administration, and managing is chiefly the affair of the economic administration. The party neither governs nor manages, though it does influence both these social processes. It defines the paths and objectives of these processes and sees to it (chiefly through its members in institutions of authority and in the government and administrative apparatus) that these processes are effective and conform to the goals of the socialist system.

Therefore, it is necessary to draw a clear dividing line between party policy and state policy, between the policy of party leadership and the policy of government.

The party cannot associate itself fully with the policy of the government and administration. It must keep an essential distance from the latter, so that it may assume a critical "oppositional" stance toward them without harming itself or socialism and the socialist state, with all the consequences this would involve.

The party's role is based on organizing social and political forces for the sake of creating socialism and implementing socialism's close-term and long-term values and objectives. The alliance of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia forms the class basis of these forces; and the alliance between the PZPR, ZSL, and SD forms the political basis, which is assuming new forms and finding new expression. The most recent events and processes indicate that there is a chance that the organized coalition of pre-reformist and prosocialist forces may exceed beyond the confines of the PZPR-ZSL-SD alliance and PRON.

No doubt this will place the party before new challenges and tasks. It will make it necessary for the party to reconsider as quickly as possible the essence and nature of the objective toward which we are aiming, the paths that lead to this objective, and the party's own role and place in these processes as an ideological and political force.

Therefore, the party does not and does not intend to aspire toward a monopolist position. Its role is a conscious choice, not something forced upon it by circumstances. It does not consider its stance to be the only, unimpeachable truth. It does not set itself above the law and beyond society's control.

The second path is to precisely define and constantly profess the party's class, ideological, and political identity and to establish its own individuality in the increasingly complex structure of political forces in Poland. This chiefly requires a reply to the following question: What makes us party people different from all the rest, what establishes our identity, what is the source of the party's identity as a whole unit and as the sum total of its members?

We often say, and rightly, too, that we guide ourselves by Marxism-Leninism and that we obtain our programmatic aspirations from the experience provided by the progressive and democratic currents in our history and from the entire revolutionary and patriotic heritage of the Polish workers movement. But what do these words mean today, at a time of profound and universal ideological and political revaluations? Does everyone always give them the same meaning? Is this meaning something that is alive, or is it just an official party symbol?

We are a Marxist-Leninist party. Our program stems from the ideological-theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. For us, Marxism-Leninism is a science that permits an understanding of the correctness of historical development, a science that professes the interests of the workers class and the convergent interests of working people as a whole, a science that establishes ways of creating a system of socialist justice. At the same time, the "PZPR Program" makes it clear that the process of socialist transformations can only be fruitful if it takes place in accordance with the general truths and specific national conditions of development. The "PZPR

Program" refers to, among other things, cooperation between people with various convictions "for the sake of the common welfare and development of our fatherland," plus the "role of the Roman Catholic Church under Polish conditions." The fact that the PZPR accepts believers into its ranks stems from a recognition of the importance of religion in Polish social life. Does a recognition of Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical and ideological basis of the party's identity and activity and the drawing of conclusions from the place and role of religion and the Catholic Church in the life of the people mean that world outlook does not determine the party's identity? Is deep thinking about world outlook, which we have been avoiding with fear until now, irrelevant?

Thus, ideological and political identity is not an invented problem isolated from real life. It occupies the minds of party members "at the top and bottom." It raises doubts and questions, too many of which have not been answered.

The idea about a historic mission by the workers class and its leading role in social development and in building the new system remains valid. This process can only be guided by a party born out of the workers class; a party that can detect its needs and objective interests; a party capable of organizing this class, assuming leadership over it, and attracting it all at the same time.

The worker-oriented nature of the party and its actual role in society and the state is determined by its links with the workers class and its ability to represent workers class interests effectively and coordinate them with the current interests and aspirations of other social classes and strata. These abilities are also the source of the party's legitimacy in a society in which the workers class is the chief social and producing force.

Thus, the workers nature of the party is the basic determinant of its ideological and political identity. But after so much experience, what does it mean today that we are a workers party, a political fledgling of the workers class, and a spokesman of its class, historic interests?

This question assumes dramatic importance when we realize that a part of the workers class has already expressed its mistrust of us several times, saying in no uncertain terms that it is not satisfied with the way in which we perform our role as spokesman of its interests.

The sober Marxist analysis and assessment of the processes occurring inside the workers class is creating a series of questions to be answered by the party. The socioeconomic reform is constantly adding new questions. These questions are raised by, among other things, shifts in the structure of the workers class and the emergence of strata that are connected with modern, science-intensive industries. This necessitates a new look at the role of the traditional industrial strata of the workers class, and an examination of the interests, aspirations, and aims of the workers class as a whole.

These questions apply to, for example, the program and paths of social advancement of the workers class under the new social conditions, the extent of this advancement, and so on. The "PZPR Program" only contains the most general programmatic formulas in this respect, such as social advancement thanks to scientific progress and better economic organization, educational and cultural improvement, and so on.

The difficult situation and the processes occurring in the workers class and society today do not erase these formulas and cancel their validity. On the contrary, they impart new meaning to them and impose a search for new solutions. Unfortunately, these searches are still too rare. Lip service is all that is paid.

The socioeconomic reform, the iron rules of economic cost-effectiveness, and the "economization" of non-economic spheres of life (such as cultural activity by independent and self-financing enterprises) mean that the concept of "workers class advancement" as a program for today and tomorrow, and not just for yesterday, has paled and lost its meaning. The workers class can feel this. It is causing feelings of frustration, a feeling of social undervaluation, something which sociologists call deprivation. All this is addressed to one place—the PZPR—because it is our party that claims to "profess above all the political and social interests of the workers class."

The term "interests of the workers class" (economic, social, political, and cultural) immediately gives rise to new questions and new problems about these interests and the way in which they manifest themselves today. The "PZPR Program" answers these questions in a descriptive and general way. It speaks of, among other things, "the decisive influence of the workers class in exercising authority, in resolving basic economic and social problems, and in educational activity," as well as "a consolidation of the workers nature of the party." One can say in a nutshell that the present and future interests of the workers class are expressed in the progress made by socialism in Poland and in the increase of its economic, political, and moral effectiveness. It has been correctly observed that the "workers image of socialism" possesses its own characteristics, which are not always identical with the theory, and especially the practice, of creating socialism in the Poland of 1988 and beyond.

In this "workers image of socialism," such values as social justice, social security, work ethics, self-management, and possibilities of advancement for children of workers all occupy a very important place. It is the party's duty not only to acquaint itself with this image and the changes occurring to it, but also to take these changes into account in its activity. There is no other way if the party wants to preserve and strengthen its role as spokesman of the interests of the workers class.

The third aspect of "remodeling" the party pertains to its internal nature. It is a question of the efficiency and effectiveness of party activity, the norms and principles of internal party life and providing them with new content.

This aspect also covers the search for new forms and areas of activity that modify and go beyond the limits of the current principle of the plant and primary party organization and the traditional meeting as a basic element in the chain of party activity. Other things that need to be considered are all the consequences of self-management, the development of social organizations, associations, and movements, and the increased social role—and, as a result, political role—of residential areas, which are ceasing to be no more than the proverbial "dormitories."

Changes in the way in which the party fulfills its role also make the question of the mass or cadre character of the party, the "quantity" or "quality" of party members, a pertinent issue. This is an issue of very great importance.

One source of weakness in the mass party, which is what the PZPR has been and continues to be, is that it was never, or hardly ever, possible to get all its members to be politically active. The only possible exception being those periods during which party elections or elections to legislative bodies were held.

These experiences give rise to a longing for a cadre party that puts the emphasis on the quality and not the quantity of party members.

However, this kind of longing is somewhat abstract. It ignores a fundamental question: Namely, what are the reasons for a lack of activity, and, at times, a lack of involvement in the party? Do they stem from the mass character of the party, the model of the party, or the way in which it performs its leading role?

There is definitely no simple or clear-cut answer to this question. Thus, the question of the "mass" or "cadre" character of the party, "quantity" or "quality," has to be addressed once again under conditions that have somewhat changed. It might turn out to be the case that those who are not particularly active, those who only strengthen the party in terms of "quantity," will finally become active once the conditions, requirements, and results of activity change, and that "quantity" will turn into "quality."

This leads us to the question of horizontal links in the party. We can all recall our experience of "horizontal structure" before and after the ninth congress. Under the pressure of these structures, and pressure exerted by other areas of life, the statute adopted at the ninth congress resolved the question of horizontal links. Today, this issue has assumed another aspect. It requires an analysis of its functioning in the life of the party, its role in combating the vertical disintegration of the party, and the creation of new, richer, and fuller ties arising from needs generated by life.

Consideration also has to be given to the role and range of functions of the party's elected organs and its professional apparatus—an apparatus that is quantitatively and functionally tailored to the role of the party in the state and in society. So far in the history of the party it has not been possible to create an appropriate balance between elected organs (committees) and elected executive organs on the one hand, and the professional apparatus on the other hand, nor has it been possible to fully realize the principle that the professional apparatus is to serve elected organs and that it is directed and supervised by them.

The idea of the party as a community of ideas, people, activities, and organizations with the features of a social movement that has distinct elements of self-management by the people, organizations, and institutions that create it meets current challenges and conforms with our current understanding of the leading and guiding role of the party.

The idea of the party as an ideological community of people can be and should be not only reflected in the internal climate of discussion and debate, different and diverse ways of thinking, tolerance toward people representing different variants of program solutions or strategies for realizing jointly accepted principles (as represented by the party leadership at various levels, for example), but also in the forms of party activity, particularly before congresses, during program discussions, and decisionmaking concerning strategy, and so on.

This also requires the creation of an appropriate climate within the party, an appropriate way of conducting discussions and debate, and turning them not into sources of weakness, but sources of strength for the party.

The existence of various, alternative program solutions concerning long- and short-term goals, strategy, different ways and means of implementing plans, open debate, and democratic procedures for the selection of specific options concerning solutions not only represent a return to the Leninist tradition, but are also an essential condition for meeting the challenges that the party faces.

However, the party is not only a community of ideas; it is also a community of activities, a community of active people above all. What creates and unites it, and defines its place in society is not only the set of goals and values that it considers its own, but also and first and foremost, the actions that it takes to realize them.

The requirements of effective activity aimed at achieving a program that is defined democratically set the limits for democracy and centralism in the party. It can be expressed in the following formula: the maximum

amount of democracy, debate, and diversity in seeking program solutions (the limits of which are set by the system of goals and values to the effect that the party preserves its identity as a workers, socialist, and Marxist party) and the maximum amount of unity in activity.

The philosophy and practice of exercising power and the leading role of the party continue to be full of contradictions. This applies to all areas of party activity and its internal life.

Changes in the idea of the role of the party and the way in which it is actually performed cannot be implemented easily, without encountering resistance. Besides, they are not just a question (or function) of the good or bad will of the leadership, the aktiv, and the membership. They are not always an expression of the varying degrees of strength of reform-oriented and conservative tendencies within the party.

New ideas about the nature of the party become known with difficulty, they often border on old ideas, and thus lose some of their clarity. A new language of communication between the party and society, the workers class, and between the party leadership and the membership, is coming into existence. However, the old language is not giving way easily; it is still rampant in the old, deeply-rooted habits of issuing pronouncements, censures, and speaking from "on high," and so on. It is menacing in its verbosity and stiffness, the style that is typical of rulers.

The excessively slow rate at which change is occurring in the party—from the top to the bottom—is the result of inertia and the deeply-ingrained ways and habits according to which traditional structures and the people who work in them operate.

A bureaucratic ideology and mentality is still present inside the party. Gramsci had good reason for writing: "Bureaucracy, which is susceptible to routine and conservatism, is the most dangerous force. If, during the course of time, it becomes a solid body that exists for itself and feels itself to be independent of the masses, the party becomes an anachronism, and when a severe crisis arises, it transpires that the party has lost its social content and seems to be suspended in a vacuum."

From the point of view of society and the workers class above all, the decisive factor is what the party does and achieves on a daily basis to satisfy needs, interests, and national and workers aspirations in the economic, political, and spiritual spheres. If a party is strong, wise, and efficient, if it achieves successes in resolving the problems and difficulties connected with national existence, it wins confidence and support. The role of the party, which is enshrined in the Constitution, derives its legitimacy from the results produced by the functioning of the economy and the administration, results that can be easily checked.

In a broader sense, social assent and support for the leading and guiding role of the party is determined by the party's everyday and long-term achievements in realizing the set of values and goals that are accepted by the majority of society and by the workers class and are identified with socialism, as well as by the actions taken by the party toward achieving this. Currently, these actions are connected with a comprehensive set of reforms affecting the economy and the political system, and the place and role of the party in the process of "great change," and with the party's ability to promote, support, and control them.

Only a party that has been thoroughly "remodeled" and has new militant and revolutionary strength can expect to radically increase the stock of confidence placed in it by the workers class and society, to act effectively, and to be considered legitimate.

Thus, confidence in the party, assent, and support for its role will be determined by the party's actual actions and socially accepted results and not by a provision of the Constitution or by counting on arguments, which were and are the "ultimate justification" of every rule.

The position of the party has to be fought for resolutely and consistently every day and in every situation. This is the inescapable duty of every PZPR member.

In other words, the amount of public confidence that there is in the party will depend on how far we succeed in winning it by way of actions that effectively solve the everyday and long-term problems of the workers class, society, and the people and its socialist state.

Rakowski, Warsaw Party Members Discuss Future

LD0809100188 Warsaw PAP in English
2130 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—An information-consultative meeting of Warsaw party link members with Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski held today focused on the search for answers to the question how the party should look like, how is it to act and fulfil its guiding function in society.

Janusz Patorski, secretary of the Warsaw PUWP Committee, in his address said: Today, we face a need to restore to the PUWP the nature of a modern Marxist party, capable of leading and exerting broad social authority. In order to maintain the status of the vanguard of progress, the party must change. Loyalty to the ideals of socialism does not have to mean the maintaining of old organizational structures within the PUWP.

In order to break away from the party's role as an administrator, one has to change the character of voivodship committees' activities and make it possible for basic level party links to expand the scope of structure-forming activities serving the creation of new forms of

party life. I think that in the party there should emerge people enjoying the right to experiments and risk. In a situation of the developing game of politial interests and the necessity of bringing together supporters of the reform, professionalism of activists and politicians, preparation of people capable to win people for the implementation of tasks is of great importance, stressed the speaker and added that there is a need to, first and foremost, work out a new form of party leadership.

During the discussion, speakers stressed that it is necessary to face those who wish to maintain the hitherto model of the party, a party-manager of the public life.

Some of the participants in the meeting pointed to the incompetence in leading the political struggle by party members. Party members are expecting from the forthcoming ideological conference decisions concerning a number of issues.

The idea of the "round table" was received by workers with understanding, but also with doubts. Mieczyslaw Rakowski commented on problems touched upon during the discussion and answered questions.

Daily Criticizes U.S. Ambassador's Actions

AU1808161688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Aug 88 p 6

[Jerzy Lobman commentary: "From Diplomatic Life"]

[Text] Who is an ambassador? An ambassador represents the head of his own state for the benefit of the head of another state. His task is to maintain the best possible relations between the two states, to protect the interests of his fatherland, and to supply his superiors with as exact information as possible about events in the country to which he is accredited. On the other hand, it is not usual, at least when diplomatic relations are "clean," for an ambassador to involve himself in the domestic policy of the accrediting country.

Of course, this does happen, and even quite often, as attested to, for example, by the activities of U.S. ambassadors in Latin America. But the world public does not approve of such activities, which are regarded as foreign interference in conflict with international law.

Various ambassadors have interfered in Poland's domestic affairs at various moments, including free elections. But the Polish people have a bad memory of such moments, which have often been condemned by various historians, including U.S. historians.

It was against that background that I became interested in an interview, which was given to NOWY DZIENNIK [NEW DAILY] during his vacation by Mr John Davis, U.S. ambassador in Poland, and which Radio Free Europe regarded important enough to immediately broadcast its contents to its listeners.

Mr ambassador stated that "I regard it as my duty... to be in contact with everyone." This is natural, because extensive contacts enable a diplomat to gather interesting information. However, the ambassador's further disclosures encourage one to take thought.

The interviewer said: "Of course, you are accredited with the PPR Government, but you also maintain contacts with the Episcopate and receive leaders of the opposition." This is a correct differentiation, because every ambassador is accredited only with the authorities (and not the government) of the country, and that is why he has various duties and has to observe certain restrictions. Other contacts and "meetings" are exclusively part of his task to get to know the country and are therefore completely different in nature.

However, the ambassador's answers began to oscillate between thoroughly diplomatic vaguenesses and thoroughly undiplomatic allusions. The ambassador spoke of "talks and efforts" with regard to "national accord" in such a way that it is actually difficult to say whether he described the present state of the country or whether he spoke of talks and efforts in which he involves himself personally. He spoke of "the possibility of forming a kind of a coalition government, which t r u l y (emphasis by Lobman) represents various viewpoints." The ambassador spoke extensively and not without obvious affection of the aspirations of the "opposition," about possibilities for changing the election law, about the possible establishment of the second chamber of the parliament, and so on. In addition he stressed that "we support democratic opposition." Let us add that this means support for the opposition against the authorities with which the ambassador is accredited.

The ambassador gave this assurance: "We in the embassy take the view that our role is to try to bring about the unity and conciliation of all those elements in Poland." This is perhaps a noble intention, but it goes so deep into the domestic affairs of our country that the question arises whether the ambassador's actions (not interestedness) in this direction do not exceed the functions he fulfills in Poland in line with the Polish authorities' accreditation. This question becomes all the more urgent when we read the ambassador's other statements: "Pluralism in Poland is a fact, and that which takes place there greatly surpasses that which is and which is not legally allowed. The question is how this real situation can be accommodated within the framework of legal regulations and how it can become an institution."

Against the background of all those statements made by the ambassador, the question arises whether he thinks that his embassy should help to establish that "institution." As a Polish citizen I think that we would be very pleased if the government of that great power beyond the ocean receives possibly most accurate and objective information about our complicated affairs. But settling these affairs is our own exclusive task. This is what

international principles and accords on the status of diplomats stipulate and this is how I understand the term "the country's sovereignty."

Western Media on Onyszkiewicz U.S. Visit

LD0809222588 Warsaw PAP in English
1921 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 8—Nobody is surprised by the ado secured by the Western mass media around a visit to the White House by ex-spokesman for "Solidarnosc" Janusz Onyszkiewicz. The American President took advantage of this opportunity to once more use the legend of "Solidarnosc" for the public opinion in his country and expressed his readiness to further exert pressure upon the Polish authorities. This and other statements made by President Reagan are no surprise on the Vistula river and they are even more comprehensible in the context of the ongoing election campaign in the U.S.

What makes one wonder is to the public opinion of which country did Onyszkiewicz address his statement in which he thanked the American side for imposing economic sanctions on his homeland. If he wanted them to be heard in Poland, he should have added more thanks to the AFL-CIO for its recent appeal to boycott Polish goods on the American market. This would also please Polish society very much.

Morawski Visits U.S., Meets Whitehead

AU1209111588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10-11 Sep 88 p 9

[PAP report: "Kazimierz Morawski's United States Visit"]

[Text] Washington—PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski writes: On Friday, Kazimierz Morawski, deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the Christian Social Association, who is on an official visit to the United States, held talks with John C. Whitehead, U.S. assistant secretary of state. They discussed Polish-American relations and problems of expanding and animating Polish-American cooperation. They also touched upon problems connected with Poland's current situation and development and with the processes of reform and change in Poland. They pointed out that sensitivity to freedom and independence is firmly rooted in Polish and American society.

During his stay in Washington, K. Morawski also held a meeting in Congress with a group of members of the House of Representatives, plus private meetings with the chairmen of congressional committees.

The subject of these talks was the development of Polish-American relations, especially in the economic sphere. It was stressed that the development of these relations requires the removal of all barriers to progress in this sphere.

The firm implementation of the processes of reform, democratization, and accord in Poland is encountering a positive echo in congressional circles.

On 8 September, K. Morawski held talks with a group of senators, including Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; Senator Lawton Chiles, chairman of the Senate Budget Committee; and Senators Pete Domenici and Dave Durenberger. The subject of an exchange of views was Polish-American relations, Poland's role in the process of detente and cooperation in Europe, and the processes of reform and change in Poland.

The senators displayed great interest in the development of the situation in Poland and in an enhancement of Polish-American relations in the economic and social spheres, including an expansion of contacts between both societies.

The chairman of the Christian Social Association paid a call on Richard Halverson, chaplain of the U.S. Senate.

Ceausescu Continues Visit to African Nations

Visits Dar es Salaam Enterprise

AU0809144088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1416 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam (AGERPRES) 8/9/1988—On Thursday, 8 September, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu visited the farm tools enterprise in Dar es Salaam.

The route of the visit gave the opportunity to know the sustained activity for the development of the town of Dar es Salaam which, in the twenty-four years since the proclamation of independence, has been modernized and renewed.

On arriving at the enterprise the Romanian people's distinguished messengers were welcomed by Dausi N. Mwakawago [as received], minister of commerce and industries, by executives of the enterprise.

During the visit to several sections, the guests were informed about the activity of the enterprise which is among the most representative units in that industrial branch, as well as about the results in ensuring the tools necessary for agriculture. Highly appreciating the results President Nicolae Ceausescu congratulated the collective of the young enterprise and wished them ever greater successes in their work for the growth and modernization of production. President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu signed the visitors' book of the enterprise.

The handicraft centre in Dar es Salaam was visited next.

On their arrival, the Romanian people's distinguished messengers were welcomed by Fatuma Said Ali, minister for the development of the community, culture, youth and sports, by the governor of Dar es Salaam.

The guests visited the design and working departments, and were presented significant data and aspects of the activity of the handicraft centre which brings an important contribution to the turning to advantage of the Tanzanian people's resources and old creative tradition, to the development of that country's culture and civilization.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu signed the visitors' book and highly appreciated the activity of the entire collective.

Throughout the visit in Dar es Salaam the distinguished Romanian guests were greeted with friendship by the inhabitants of the Tanzanian capital.

At Dar es Salaam 'Gala Show'

AU0809202588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam, AGERPRES, 08/09/1988—On Thursday evening, a gala show was given in the Presidential Palace Pa Kin Dar es Salaam in honour of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Mrs Elena Ceausesu and Mrs Sitti Mwinyi were welcomed with great warmth by those present.

The show was attended by the officials accompanying the Romanian head of state on his visit to Tanzania.

Also present were members of the Tanzanian Government and other officials.

At the end of the show, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu congratulated the artists.

Talks With Ali Hassan Mwinyi

AU0909063388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2038 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 08/09/1988—On 8 September Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu had another round of talks with the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

During the talks a further survey was made of development aspects of the Romanian-Tanzanian relations as well as of current international political issues.

The two heads of state informed each other of their countries' present concerns in economic and social construction. It was assessed that the steadily growing cooperation between Romania and Tanzania in the economic, political, technical, scientific, cultural and other spheres of mutual interest benefited both countries and peoples, and served their prosperity and progress, the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration worldwide.

During the exchange of view on international issues, which evinced the identity or closeness of the two countries' points of view, it was stressed that, although encouraging developments have taken place in the world, the situation continued to be particularly serious and complex. It was shown that there were strong contradictions—political, economic and military—as an outcome of the furtherance of the arms race and the manufacture of new nuclear weapons, of the conflicts and states of tension in various parts of the world, of the world economic crisis and the deterioration of the developing countries' situation. Emphasis was placed on the need for all peoples, the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces everywhere to make concrete

efforts in the fight for the halting of the dangerous course of event, for the achievement of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, and the establishment of a durable peace on this planet.

It was shown that the tendency was manifest in some regions of the world to settle conflicts and tension by peaceful means through negotiations, and the necessity was underlined that everything possible should be done for the consolidation of such a new way of thinking, for the elimination of the use and threat of force from international relations, and a political, negotiated settlement of all interstate disputed issues.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi showed that a negotiated solution should urgently be found to the conflict in the Middle East by calling a UN-sponsored international conference to be attended by all the states concerned, including the PLO, the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative, by Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council.

During the talks special attention was paid to the situation in the African Continent. On this occasion too, President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated Romania's solidarity and support to the African people's fight for the full liquidation of colonialism and neocolonialism, of any form of domination and oppression, for the safeguarding and consolidation of national independence, for self-reliant economic and social development.

The two presidents expressed their active support for the fight of the SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]-led Namibian people for the attainment of their legitimate aspirations at freedon and independence, for the application of the UN resolution in this problem. Likewise, they condemned the racial policy of apartheid, the repressive measures of the Pretoria authorities and were for the creation of a democratic state where the majority population in South Africa should take part in the whole development of the country with equal rights.

During the talks, considering the grave economic situation affecting all peoples, and mostly the developing countries, stress was laid on the need to solve the problems of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order, based on fully equal rights and equity in interstate links. Emphasis was placed on the importance of calling a UN-sponsored international conference, attended by all developing and developed states on an equal footing, to reach solutions accepted by all sides, the developing countries' inordinately high foreign debts, included. It was shown that the global resolution of the economico-financial issues, the establishment of a new order were prerequisites for the overcoming of the current crisis, for the stability and harmonious development of the world economy, for the economic and social progress of each people, for the policy of detente, collaboration and peace the world over.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Ali Hassan Mwinyi agreed that the settlement of the complex issues in the international life required an active and equal participation of all countries and of small and medium countries, of non-aligned states in particular, which make up the great majority of the world and are directly interested in a policy of peace, independence and broad collaboration.

Romania's and Tanzania's will was reiterated on the occasion to strengthen their collaboration worldwide, at the UN and in its specialized agencies, to make an active contribution to the settlement of the major contemporary issues, for the attainment of peoples' aspirations at freedom and independence for the assertion of the policy of detente, security, peace, confidence and broad collaboration among nations worldwide.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding.

In connection with the results of the new summit and the understandings reached, a joint communique was adopted.

Concludes Visit to Tanzania

AU0909203688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam, (AGERPRES) 9/9/1988—Friday, 9 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Mrs Elena Ceausescu concluded their friendly official visit to the United Republic of Tanzania upon the invitation of that country's President Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

The last moments of the summit dialogue passed in the same atmosphere of warm friendship, of esteem and consideration in which the visit proceeded. Through its fruitful results the new Romanian-Tanzanian meeting in Dar es Salaam goes down as a remarkable moment in the chronicle of bilateral relations, opening up favourable prospects to the cooperation between the two countries and peoples, and contributing to the establishment of a climate of peace, understanding and broad collaboration among all states.

From the residence reserved for the Romanian people's distinguished messengers, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, accompanied by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Mrs Sitti Mwinyi, made for the International Airport Kilimandjaro in Dar es Salaam.

The residents of the Tanzanian capital city that stood along the motorcade's route warmly greeted again the distinguished Romanian guests.

The departure ceremony was marked by high military honours.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu parted from the Tanzanian officials.

At the foot of the plane President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu took a warm leave of President Ali Hassan Mwiny and Mrs Sitti Mwinyi.

At 8:30 hours, a.m. the presidential aircraft took off.

Communique on Tanzanian Visit

AU0909191288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 9 Sep 88

["Romanian-Tanzanian Joint Communique"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Dar es Salaam, (AGERPRES) 9/9/1988—The document, issued as the end of the official goodwill visit Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Elena Ceausescu paid to the United Republic of Tanzania, over 7-9 September 1988, specifies that the distinguished Romanian guests had fruitful official talks with Ali Hassan Mwinyi, president of the United Republic of Tanzania, when the leaders of the two states informed each other about current concerns in their countries and made an in-depth analysis of the ways to further develop the friendly and cooperative relations between Romania and Tanzania. Furthermore, opinions were exchanged at length on major current international problems.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania stated their satisfaction for the positive results of the growing relationship between the two countries until now, and reiterated their wish to further strengthen bilateral relations in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and other fields of common interest. They restated the attachment of their countries, in bilateral and international relations, to the principles of full equality of rights, national sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual economic advantage, nonrecourse to the threat and use of force, the right of each people to develop in freedom and independence as it wishes, free from outside interference.

The president of Romania and the president of Tanzania agreed on action to step up cooperation between them in trade, industry, agriculture, mining, geology, and in other areas of common interest.

It was agreed that the economic ministries, bodies, organizations and enterprises in the two countries should intensify their contacts and take the necessary steps for the implementation of the economic cooperation ventures of interest to both sides. Emphasis was also placed on the willingness of the two sides to expand and diversify the mutual exchanges of goods on the basis of long-term agreements that should give them stability and perspective.

A general accord was signed during the visit on economic and technical cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania decided on the expansion of the cooperative ties and bilateral contacts at all levels on a government line, between economic, scientific and cultural institutions, and between mass and public organizations in the two countries.

The relations of militant solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania were appreciated highly, and the mutual wish was stated for the bilateral relationship on a party line to be expanded and enriched.

In an exchange of opinions on the international situation, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi noted with satisfaction their identical or very close views on the major problems confronting mankind today.

Assessing the current international situation as being still highly contradictory, serious and complex, the two presidents laid stress on the demand for new thinking and new action, for a new approach to the complex problems of the international life in view of solving them in the interests of all peoples. They assessed as fundamental for our time the cessation of the arms race, a resolute passage to disarmament, nuclear first of all, the ensurance of the foremost right of each nation and of the entire mankind to existence, to liberty and independence.

Noting the steps that were taken in the direction of disarmament through the agreement that the Soviet Union and the United States of America concluded on eliminating medium and shorter-range missiles, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi are of the opinion that, nevertheless, there has been no radical change, that the arms race is going on, and new nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are developed, improved and stockpiled, increasing the danger of a world war that would inevitably become a devastating nuclear war.

The presidents of the two countries agreed that greater efforts should be made in the direction of disarmament, nuclear above all. In connection with that, they stressed the particular importance of the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of offensive strategic weapons, the taking of concrete measures on a complete ban on all

nuclear tests, the renunciation of the so-called Star Wars, of all actions pursuing to militarize the outer space, as well as of chemical and other arms of mass destruction.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania agreed that concrete negotiations should open as soon as possible between the Warsaw Treaty states and the NATO states, in which all European states should take part, in view of reducing the armed forces, conventional arms and the military expenditure of states.

They stated their belief that agreements and understandings would be made at the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Vienna which, on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act provisions, may lead to growing cooperation among all European countries, to tangible disarmament and confidence-building measures in the general interest of security and cooperation of the participant states. In context, the significance was brought to the fore of building a Europe united in the diversity of social systems, of peace, understanding and durable cooperation.

The leaders of the two states favour the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and understanding free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and of foreign troops and military bases, the arrangement of meetings on various levels and on specific themes, and a summit of the heads of the state and government in the region.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi stated their support for the proposal that the Indian Ocean become a zone of peace and understanding, as well as for the demand that the Colombo Conference convene as soon as possible.

At the same time, the leaders of the two states expressed support for the efforts that the African countries make for the implementation of the declaration on the denuclearization of Africa.

In context, they condemned South Africa's acquisition of nuclear weapon production facilities, which they assessed as a serious threat to international peace and security. They also said they favoured the creation of like nuclear-free zones also in other parts of the world.

Reviewing the situation on the African Continent, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania underscored the achievements of the African countries in their fight for liberty and national independence, for their economic and social development, and stated their concern over the continued foreign interference in the domestic affairs of African states.

The two presidents underlined the important role of the Organization of African Unity in strengthening inter-African cooperation, and the outstanding contribution of that organization to the settlement of the problems confronting the continent.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi reiterated the firm support and the solidarity of their countries with the Namibian people fighting for the independence of Namibia under SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leadership, and expressed the determination to continue, along with other states, the international effort for the undelayed implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 on that question. In context they welcomed the initiation of the negotiations for the achievement of peace and security in Southern Africa and for Namibia's access to independence.

The leaders of the two states firmly condemned the apartheid policy, the repressive measures of the authorities of the Republic of South Africa against the majority population of that country, and urged an end to the aggressive actions of that country on its African neighbour countries. Furthermore, they called on the international community to impose and support the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.

As part of the exchange of opinions on world conflicts and states of tension, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi welcomed the underway contacts for the settlement of the states of tension in Africa, and reiterated the resolve of their countries to take an active part in finding political solutions that should consider the lawful interests of the sides and respect the right of each people to decide its own fate.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi expressed their great concern over the seriousness of the situation in the Middle East and declared for a comprehensive just and durable negotiated settlement of the problems in that part of the world on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, for the resolution of the Palestinian people's problems through the recognition of its right to self-determination—including to independent Palestinian statehood—to the ensurance of the sovereignty, integrity and security of all the states in the zone. They highlighted the importance of an international Middle East conference under UN aegis in which all parties interested should take part, including the PLO and Israel, as well as the UN Security Council permanent members.

The president of Romania and the president of Tanzania welcomed the ceasefire agreement between Iran and Iraq, stressing that the UN Security Council Resolution 598 ought to be implemented to the letter, and declared for a peaceful settlement of the issues in the Gulf area, in the interests of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, of stability,

security and peace in that zone and all over the world. Furthermore, they underlined that foreign military ships would be withdrawn from the Gulf and freedom of navigation be ensured in the area.

Romania and Tanzania favour a global settlement of the problems of underdevelopment, and the establishment of a new international economic order on the basis of the full equality of states and of equity. On that line, the two countries are of the opinion that an international conference should be called in the framework of the UN in which all developing countries and the developed states should take part with equal rights to find mutually acceptable solutions—including on the developing countries' very high foreign debt problem.

Romania and Tanzania favour the closer solidarity and cooperation of the developing countries, the calling of a developing summit that should set the measures for the strengthening of cooperation among them, and work out a common strategy for their negotiations with the developed countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Hassan Mwinyi take the view that the complex international issues, their settlement on fully equal terms require the active participation of all countries, particularly of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned countries.

They also reiterated the determination of the two countries to actively work together in the international arena, at the UN and in its specialized agencies, in the "Group of 77" and the Nonaligned Movement.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania stated their full satisfaction for the new Romanian-Tanzanian summit, for the understandings that were made and that are a valuable contribution to the deepening of the friendship, collaboration and cooperation between the two countries, in the interests of the Romanian and Tanzanian peoples, of the cause of international peace, progress and cooperation.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu invited Comrade Ali Hassan Mwinyi, president of the United Republic of Tanzania, and Comrade Mwinyi to pay an official friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit is to be established by diplomatic channels.

Meets Mubarak in Cairo 9 Sep

AU0909204588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2003 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Cairo, AGERPRES 9/9/1988—On Friday, September 9, on their way home, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu had a friendly meeting in Cairo with President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Mrs Suzanne Mubarak, which goes down as an important moment in the chronicle of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples. At the airport in Cairo President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were greeted with particular friendship and cordiality by President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Mrs Suzanne Mubarak, who warmly welcomed the distinguished Romanian guests.

The distinguished messengers of the Romanian people were welcomed with particular esteem and respect by 'Atif Muhammad Najib Sidqi, prime minister of Egypt, by deputy prime ministers, ministers and other Egyptian officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were invited in the official guests' lounge of the airport, where they conversed with President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Mrs Suzanne Mubarak in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

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In honour of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu, the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Muhammad Housni Mubarak and Mrs Suzanne Mubarak gave a luncheon, which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship.

Summit Talks With Mubarak

AU1209083488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

["Romanian-Egyptian Summit Talks"—SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] On Friday, September 9, a friendly meeting took place in Cairo between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Mrs Suzanne Mubarak.

The Egyptian head of state expressed his satisfaction at meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu again, at conducting with him a new exchange of opinions on the course of bilateral relations and a number of important issues of the international life.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked the host, on his own behalf and on behalf of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, for the warm reception extended to him and expressed his belief that the new summit would contribute to the further strengthening and expansion of the cooperation between the two countries, in the interest of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in the world.

During the talks, which highlighted the joint wish to expand the collaboration between the Romanian and Egyptian peoples, the two presidents informed each other of their peoples current concerns and surveyed the stage of the Romanian-Egyptian links on the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural planes, and the way in which the decisions reached during the previous summits were translated into fact.

The Romanian-Egyptian cooperation was shown to have followed a steadily ascending course in the past two years, as significant actions and measures were finalized to lead to the expansion and diversification of economic, technical and scientific exchanges, of cooperation in production.

The two presidents highlighted the need for further action to achieve a closer mutually advantageous, many-sided collaboration, in the spirit of the understandings reached and on the basis of the results scored that far, of the requirements of Romania's and Egypt's development, of the growing possibilities offered by the two countries' potential.

Exchanging opinions on the international political and economic life, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Husni Mubarak underscored, on that occasion, too, the fact that Romania and Egypt have identical or very close positions and viewpoints on the serious problems facing mankind.

The two countries' leaders showed that notwithstanding the steps taken on the road of disarmament and the extinction of a number of armed conflicts, the world situation continued to be contradictory and complex. The two presidents showed that further accords were needed to achieve a complex disarmament program to cover both nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction and substantially cut back on conventional armament, troops, and military spending.

In consideration of the highly important role Europe must play in the fight for disarmament, for the prevention of a nuclear disaster, the Romanian and Egyptian heads of state expressed their hope that the Vienna meeting on security and cooperation would make real progress in working out a comprehensive and balanced document to contribute to the development of economic, technical, scientific and other collaboration, to confidence building, to the strengthening of understanding and peace in the continent and throughout the world.

During the talks the importance was underscored of the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness. The two heads of state declared for the creation of like zones in central and northern Europe, in the Mediterranean, as well as in other parts of the world.

Emphasis was placed on the need to settle conflicts in various parts of the globe by political means, through negotiations, the only way to provide a viable solution to the issues of the contemporary world. In that framework, special attention was paid to the examination and settlement of the situation in the Middle East. The two presidents showed that in the newly created conditions an international conference should be called as soon as possible, under UN aegis, to be attended by the all the sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, Israel and the Security Council permanent members.

It was stressed that everything possible should be done for this conference to lead to the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Middle East issues, to the establishment of a global, just and durable peace relying on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, of the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state included.

Assessing the importance of the new Romanian-Egyptian summit exchange of views on the Middle East issues, the presidents of Romania and Egypt restated their countries' resolve to collaborate closely together with other states, for the undelayed fulfilment of these targets, which would contribute to the strengthening of understanding, security and peace in the region and the world over.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Husni Mubarak welcomed the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war and expressed the hope that, during direct negotiations all efforts would be made to reach mutually acceptable solutions, to eradicate the conflict and fully establish a peace in this region.

During the meeting, Romania's and Egypt's full solidarity was reiterated with the African peoples' fight for the eradication of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of national independence an self-reliant economic and social development of all states, with emphasis on the increasingly important role the Organization of African Unity should play in the political settlement of the problems in this continent. Revealing the latest positive developments along the path of elimination of conflicts in Austral Africa, the two heads of state expressed Romania's and Egypt's active support for the Namibian people's SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]-led just fight to win national independence. The apartheid policy of South Africa was firmly condemned.

In connection with the world economic situation, it was shown that firm measures should be taken to eradicate underdevelopment and establish an international economic order. To this end, a UN-sponsored international conference should be called, with the equal participation

of developing and developed countries, so as to find mutually acceptable solutions to the grave economic issues of the contemporary world.

The presidents of Romania and Egypt assessed that in order to solve all these issues, all countries, no matter their size or social system, should take an active part, the role of the UN and of other international bodies ought to grow in the democratization of interstate links.

It was stressed that an important role in the settlement of the complex and grave issues confronting mankind had the small and medium countries, the developing and non-aligned countries, that make up the big majority of world states and are directly interested in a policy of peace and equal collaboration among nations.

Starting from Romania's and Egypt's close or identical positions on most of the world problems, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak expressed their peoples' determination to step up their international collaboration, at the UN and in other bodies, to make a growing contribution to the creation of world of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

Held in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual esteem and understanding, the new Romanian-Egyptian summit meeting and talks are a new and valuable contribution to the development of the fine traditional links between Romania and Egypt, to the establishment of a climate of broad cooperation, security and peace on the whole planet.

Ceausescu Departs Cairo

AU1009205888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2046 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Cairo, (AGERPRES) 9/9/1988—At the end of the friendly meeting in Cairo, the official departure ceremony took place at the International Airport of the Egyptian capital city.

Expressing full satisfaction for the fruitful results of this friendly meeting, which opens new prospects to the further development, on multiple planes, of the fine relationships between Romania and Egypt, the two heads of state stressed on this occasion too the decisive role of the Romanian-Egyptian summit talks in the broad promotion of the collaboration between the two countries and peoples, of their active cooperation worldwide.

By the plane's ramp, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Ceausescu bade a warm farewell to President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Mrs Suzanne Mubarak.

At 16:15 hours, the presidential aircraft took off, heading home.

Returns to Bucharest

AU0909191088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 9/9/1988—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu returned to Bucharest on Friday afternoon after having paid official goodwill visits to the Republic of Kenya (5-7 September) and the United Republic of Tanzania (7-9 September).

The Romanian party and state leader was accompanied by Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, Ioan Totu, foreign affairs minister, other officials.

Ceausescu Sends Message to DPRK's Kim Il-song

AU0709204088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1904 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/9/1988—The RCP general secretary, Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, sent Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, president of the DPR of Korea, the following telegram:

On the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, I wish to convey you, dear friend, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Central People's Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people a comradely salute and warmest congratulations.

A crowning of the heroic fights of the masses for the triumph of the ideals of liberty, national independence and social progress, the creation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was a highly significant moment in the Korean people's history, which marked the beginning of a new era of deep revolutionary changes.

The Romanian people knows and rejoices at the remarkable successes the Korean people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea you head, obtained in building socialist society.

The Romanian Communist Party, Socialist Romania expressed and express their consistent support and militant solidarity with the constructive proposals and initiatives advanced by the Workers' Party of Korea and by you personally conducive to the reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula and to the country's peaceful and independent reunification.

Our parties, countries and peoples developed strong relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity. I voice my belief that, acting in the spirit of the talks and

understandings jointly reached, these ties will strengthen and expand in the interests of the Romanian and Korean peoples, of the cause of socialism, international collaboration and peace.

On this great anniversary, I convey you and the friendly Korean people best wishes of full success in implementing the resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, in attaining the Korean nation's supreme desideratum to live in a united, free and prosperous homeland.

x x x

On the same occasion the Romanian prime minister sent a telegram to Yi Kun-mo, premier of the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whereby he conveys him warmest congratulations and wishes him ever greater success in his activity. The telegram expresses the belief that, by common efforts, the two countries' governments will bring a greater contribution to the development of the relations of close collaboration between Romania and the DPR of Korea, in keeping with the summit talks and understandings.

x x x

The chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs and the minister of national defence sent congratulatory telegrams to their Korean counterparts.

On the same occasion central mass and public organizations sent telegrams of congratulations to kindred organizations and institutions in the DPR of Korea.

Exhibition 'Romania 88' Closes in Moscow

AU0309191988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 3 Sep 88

["The 'Romania 88' Exhibition in Moscow Concludes"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 03/09/1988—The exhibition of Romania's national economy, the largest Romanian exhibition organized in the USSR, intended to outline the Romanian people's achievements in the years of socialist construction, more particularly in the period ushered in by the Ninth RCP Congress, concluded in the Soviet capital city.

For a week, the exhibition, on the theme "Romania '88", was seen round by tens upon thousands of citizens in the Soviet capital city and the Soviet republics, as well as by experts and representatives of foreign trade enterprises.

The visitors to the exhibition, where 31 Romanian foreign trade enterprises put their exhibits on display, were appreciative of the quality and great diversity of the products. On the occasion a large number of contracts were concluded with Soviet companies in areas such as oilfield equipment, chemical and petrochemical plant, electronic and electrotechnological products, as well as products in other sectors of activity.

The exhibition was a success contributing to a better knowledge in the USSR of Romania's results in its economic and social development.

Oprea, Flusca Meet Uzbek SSR Minister

AU1009170488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1550 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/9/1988—On Saturday, September 10, Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, received E.A. Taymazov, minister of light industry of the Uzbek SSR, who is paying a visit to Romania.

During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the fine relations of friendship and economic collaboration between Romania and the USSR, according to the understandings reached at top level. Possibilities were examined of further developing cooperation in and specialization of production, of expanding commodity exchanges.

The guest also had an interview with Maria Flucsa, Romanian minister of light industry, and visited speciality enterprises in Bucharest and in the counties of Arges and Prahova.

Various Working Groups Receive Pay Raises

Construction Pay Raises

AU0809115888 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 2 September carries on page 7, under the headline "An Expression of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," an 800-word report, including two tables, illustrating how the pay increase beginning 1 September for "further categories of working people" is being implemented "on construction-assembly sites in our country."

Thus, a bricklayer's base pay before the pay increase was 1,984 lei a month, while after the increase it is 2,385 lei, and an equipment supervisor's base pay before the increase was 1,965 lei, while after the pay increase it is 2,366 lei.

A note at the end of each table specifies that "the increased base pays incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Transportation Pay Raises

AU0809115988 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 3 September carries on page 5, under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," an 800-word report, including three tables, demonstrating how the pay increase is being applied in transportation and telecommunications.

According to these tables, a driver's base pay before the pay increase was 1,955 lei a month, while after the increase it is 2,356 lei; a quartermaster's base pay before the pay increase was 1,896 lei, while after the increase it is 2,297 lei; and a telephone operator's base pay before the pay increase was 1,980 lei, while after the rise it is 2,365 lei.

A note at the end of each table specifies that "the increased base pays incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Agriculture Pay Raises

AU0809115788 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 1 September carries on page 5, under the headline "An Expression of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," a 1,000-word report, including three tables, illustrating how the pay increase beginning 1 September for certain "categories of working people" is being implemented in "units of the food industry, in agriculture, and industrial units under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture, in forestry, construction-assembly, units of the Ministry of Industrial Construction, water management, transportation and telecommunications, and in industrial units of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, as well as in industrial units of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and of other ministries and central organizations" where "the base pay of less than 2,000 lei a month will increase in the first stage."

According to the report, "more than 6000,000 working people will benefit from the current pay increase, so that the number of those who will receive a pay increment beginning in August and September will exceed 1,5 million lei."

This pay increase is illustrated on the basis of three examples from the agricultural sector:

A vegetable grower's base pay before the pay increase was 1,915 lei a month, while after the increase his base pay is 2,330; an agricultural mechanic's base pay before the pay increase was 1,984 lei, while after the increase it is 2,385 lei; and a forestry worker's base pay before the pay increase was 1,847 lei, while after the increase it is 2,258 lei.

A note at the end of each table specifies that "the increased base pays incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Daily Rejects 'Recipes' for Socialism

AU0309152288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1503 GMT 3 Sep 88

["For the Observance of Each People's Right To Choose Its Own Development Path"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/09/1988—International developments have shown that one of the most stringent demands of our days is the observance of each people's right to independently choose its development path, "SCINTEIA" shows in an article it runs in its 3 September issue.

Referring to the specific problems of building the new system, the newspaper underscores that the development of socialist construction is each people's work. In this respect, the RCP has consistently started from the fundamental thesis, corroborated by life, that socialism is built in conditions that differ from one country to another, and it is the exclusive right of each party, of each people to independently and sovereignly choose the way of building the new system.

The successful building of the new system, the newspaper further shows, necessarily requires that each party should creatively apply the objective laws and principles of socialism to specific conditions and adopt the ways and means of action it considers most suitable to one stage or another.

Noting that life has invalidated the anachronism of outlooks regarding "recipes" or patterns in socialist construction, proving the noxious character of the attempts to deliver lectures, to outline and impose "models," the newspaper writes: The answer given by social practice is univocal: there are not and there cannot be unique, generally applicable "recipes" as there are not and there cannot be standard recipes for the improvement of the forms and methods of socialist construction.

The unflinching observance of each people's right to choose its own development path has a double meaning: on the one hand, it is apt to ensure the successful development of socialist construction in each country, considering that nobody knows or can know better the problems that are to be solved than the respective party and people. On the other hand, it has a great significance

on an international plane as well. The unswerving application of like principles and the consistent respect for independence as an essential factor of the new relations provide the necessary framework for the broad expansion of manysided cooperation. Only in such a climate of mutual understanding and regard can feelings of confidence, close friendship and comradely mutual assistance develop, in the mutual interest, in the interest of unity, and the general benefit of socialism.

Leaders' Public Appearances 4-10 Sep

AU1109150688 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 4-10 September period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 5 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, accompanied by PEC candidate members Stefan Andrei and Ioan Totu left for Kenya. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0732 GMT 5 Sep)

On 10 September, PEC candidate member Stefan Andrei and Foreign Trade Minister Ioan Ungur met with Western Australian Premier Peter Dowding. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1546 GMT 10 Sep)

On 7 September, PEC member Ion Dinca and PEC Candidate Member Ion Stoian attended a festive meeting in Bucharest marking the DPRK's anniversary. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 7 Sep)

On 8 September, PEC member Ion Dinca and PEC candidate members Ion Stoian and Constantin Radu attended a DPRK Embasssy reception. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 8 Sep)

On 10 September, PEC member Gheorghe Oprea and Maria Flusca, minister of light industry, met with Uzbek SSR Light Industry Minister Taymazov. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1550 GMT 10 Sep)

On 5 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu began official talks with Kenyan President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 5 Sep) The same day he attended an official dinner given by the Kenyan president in Nairobi in his honor. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1858 GMT 5 Sep)

On 6 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu held official talks with Kenyan President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0935 GMT 6 Sep) and (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1703 GMT 6 Sep) The same day, Ceausescu, together with Elena Ceausescu, Stefan Andrei, and Ioan Totu, laid a wreath at the Jomo Kenyata Memorial in Nairobi, visited a park and industrial complex in Nairobi (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1654 GMT 6 Sep) and concluded talks with Kenya's president. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 6 Sep)

On 7 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu left Kenya for Tanzania. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1430 GMT 7 Sep) The same day he started an official visit to Tanzania (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1613 GMT 7 Sep), met chiefs of diplomatic missions in Dar es Salaam (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 7 Sep), and began official talks with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in the presence of Stefan Andrei and Ioan Totu. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1911 GMT 7 Sep) Also the same day, Ceausescu and Mwinyi exchanged dinner toasts. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 7 Sep)

On 8 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu visited economic units in Dar es Salaam. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1416 GMT 8 Sep) The same day, Ceausescu, together with Elena Ceausescu, attended a gala show in Dar es Salaam (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 8 Sep) and continued talks with Ali Hassan Mwinyi. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2030 GMT 8 Sep)

On 9 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu concluded his visit to Tanzania. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 9 Sep) The same day, Ceausescu met with Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak in Cairo (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2003 GMT 9 Sep) and held official talks. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 9 Sep) On the same day Ceausescu, together with Elena Ceausescu and aides, returned to Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 9 Sep))

On 10 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Western Australian Premier Dowding. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 10 Sep)

On 6 September, PEC candidate member Stefan Andrei signed an economic agreement in Nairobi. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1751 GMT 6 Sep)

On 8 September, PEC candidate member Stefan Andrei signed an economic agreement with Tanzania. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1552 GMT 8 Sep)

On 7 September, Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, attended a Bucharest meeting marking DPRK anniversary. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1344 GMT 7 Sep)

On 6 September, PEC member Constantin Dascalescu left for the DPRK. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1721 GMT 6 Sep)

On 7 September, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu visited a Pyongyang exhibition and laid wreath at the cemetery of DPRK heroes. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1354 GMT 7 Sep)

On 8 September, PEC member Constantin Dascalescu held official talks in Pyongyang with his DPRK counterpart. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1853 GMT 8 Sep)

On 9 September, PEC member Constantin Dascalescu was received by Kim Il-song in Pyongyang. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1610 GMT 10 Sep)

On 1 September, Neculai Ibanescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, attended a national day reception at the Libyan Embassy in Bucharest. (Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 88 p 7)

On 10 September, Deputy Foreign Minister Constantin Oancea was received by Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1227 GMT 10 Sep) and addressed the ministerial conference of nonaligned countries held in Nicosia. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 10 Sep)

On 7 September, Cornel Pacoste, PEC candidate member, attended a cocktail party at the Bulgarian Embassy on that country's national day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1929 GMT 7 Sep)

On 5 September, Gheorghe Radulescu, PEC member, met with Madagascar President during the latter's stopover in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1615 GMT 5 Sep)

On 6 September, Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth Central Committee, opened a Romanian-GDR youth meeting in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 6 Sep)

On 5 September, PEC candidate member Ion Ursu chaired an international electronics conference. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 5 Sep)

Serbian Officials Call for Police Unit

LD0509141288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—Petar Gracanin, President of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, today called for the immediate and strict implementation of the SFRY Presidency decision on the assignment of a police unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to municipalities and local communities in Kosovo. This direct involvement would ensure the safety of citizens and their property, particularly for Serbs and Montenegrins.

This demand was contained in the introductory speech made by Petar Gracanin at a joint session of the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, which is considering the current political and security situation in Kosovo. Gracanin proposed that this should be included in the conclusion of today's meeting, as should Serbia's duty to form additional forces which would be made available to assist Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs unit.

Militia Detachment to Istok

LD0909180388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—Members of a combined detachment of militia from the forces of the organs of internal affairs of the SR of Serbia from the Kragujevac department of internal affairs will be sent to Kosovo tomorrow and deployed on the territory of the Istok municipality, where the village of Prekale is situated. The Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia today issued a statement which says:

Acting in accordance with the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency adopted at the 12 August session and of the Serbian Presidency and Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium of 5 September, that members of a combined detachment of militia of the federal secretariat for internal affairs, in addition to carrying out their tasks under the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 21 October 1987, also should be involved in offering assistance to the organs of internal affairs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in directly executing certain security tasks, and in particular, duties and tasks involving the protection of the persons and property of citizens, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia is dispatching a number of members of a combined detachment from the forces of Serbian internal affairs organs from the Kragujevac department of internal affairs to the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo on 10 September 1988.

These members of the internal affairs organs of the SR of Serbia will be deployed on the territory of the Istok municipality in which the village of Prekale is situated, the inhabitants of which, because of highly disturbed intranational relations, as is known, called for the protection of the organs of internal affairs of the province and republic at a meeting with the republican and provincial secretaries for internal affairs held in their village, the statement says.

'Village Watch' in Istok

LD1009195788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Istok, 10 Sep (TANJUG)—In Prekale, near Istok, there is no longer any need for a village watch, this role was taken over this evening by members of a collective police unit of the Serbian internal affairs' organs from the Kragujevac internal affairs' department. This is in line with the conclusions of the highest state and party leadership of the country and Serbia. The unit is at present stationed in Istok, but, as stressed during the talks with the local population, it will patrol in Prekale, where Serbs and Montenegrins have for long been exposed to crude pressure by Albanian separatists, and their property threatened. The organs of the public security department in Istok and the security center in Pec will help in the direct carrying out security tasks, especially in the protection of citizens and their property.

With the arrival of a section of the collective unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the guarantee to the local population that they would finally sleep in peace, the people from Prekale have abandoned collective emigration from Kosovo, and have decided to send their children to school next monday. Solidarity with this decision was also shown by the parents of children from Djurakovac and Dubrava; 49 pupils from these villages will return to their schools following a 10-day boycott.

Prekale Village Guards Stoned 6, 7 Sep

LD0809191488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Istok, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Last night and the night before last, at about 2300 unknown persons threw stones at the guards in Prekale who, as is well-known, since 15 May this year have been guarding this village with arms. The stoning was reported to the department of public security in Istok but the hooligans have not yet been discovered.

2-Day Military Exercise in Kosovo Ends

LD0909145988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Pec, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—A 2-day exercise, by some units of the Nis Army District and other units of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection [ONO/DSZ] within the framework of the program of regular military training, ended today in the area of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

As in other exercises carried out during the year, in this one, too, there was full expression of the devotion to duty and training by soldiers and officers in the handling of modern and complex military technology. The high motivation of all participants in the exercise and their desire and practical readiness to carry out to the best of their abilities the tasks set for them resulted in an enviable degree of combat readiness by members of the armed forces and in the functioning of ONO/DSZ. The moral capacity and specialist training of people in conjunction with modern military means which was displayed confirmed on this occasion, too, that we have at our disposal human and technical potential prepared for and capable of carrying out the most complex military tasks in keeping with the concept of all-people's defense. Notable results were also achieved in the field of everyday direct cooperation between members of the Yugoslav People's Army and the population, especially during preparations for the exercise. The traditional close links between the Army and the people were manifested in a series of common efforts in work, sociopolitical deeds, and culture, entertainment, health, education, sports, and other actions.

Naturally, this was not to the liking of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, who in various ways tried to frustrate or invalidate the results in this sphere. However, these attempts met with resolute resistance and condemnation by the population of this area. Thus, the fact was confirmed in practice—the best way—that the enemy cannot achieve its goals in conditions of close links between the Army and the people.

All in all these exercises, as on many previous occasions, confirmed that the Armed Forces of our country and other parts of ONO/DSZ are capable of carrying out the most varied military operations. This was also an opportunity to acquire new know-how and experience and verify individual practical solutions.

SAWPY Work Change Allows Popular Questions

LD1109171988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1516 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 11 (TANJUG)—The first autumn activities of Yugoslavia's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY), indicate changes in its work.

A session of the presidency of the SAWPY Federal Conference devoted to the current social and political situation will be held already next week. At the session, a government representative will answer questions put by the citizens of Yugoslavia who are faced with runaway inflation and restricted personal incomes. However, for the first time in the history of this forum it will not be left up to the federal government representative to determine what he will talk about. The subject was this time decided by the people through the SAWPY Federal Conference which sent the government a list of questions which it wants answered at the presidency session.

The government is expected to reply whether there will be any changes in the credit-monetary policy and the policy of personal incomes, what will be the inflation rate, whether system-related laws will be ready on time, what are the positive effects of the economic measures introduced by the government in May, why is the financial burden imposed on the economy increasing, and so on.

This change in the method of work of the Socialist alliance should put an end to the current practice of importance sessions yielding poor results.

TANJUG Says Country in 'Critical Stage'

LD1209134788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 12 Sep 88

[By Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, September 12 (TANJUG)—The request for deep social reforms, unanimously adopted by the first Yugoslav party conference, has been seriously brought to question.

The country has reached a critical stage of the crisis in the meantime and now faces the danger of a social explosion and mass political protests.

The league of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee will be faced with this problem at its 17th session in late September.

Party members throughout the country, notwithstanding differences in views on certain problems, rightfully expect the LCY Central Committee to make a radical turnabout at its next session, both in its activities and in improving political and economic conditions.

The Central Committee will again have to face the dramatic situation in the country's autonomous province of Kosovo, most certainly Yugoslavia's greatest problem.

After eight years of grappling unsuccessfully with the counter-revolution waged by Albanian chauvinists and separatists, conditions in the province demand urgent political and state measures.

Without those measures, the open conflict between nationalities could spread to the whole country.

The Central Committee will have to discuss the difficult economic situation as well. Economic difficulties and a ruthless inflations have brought people to existential minimums.

Social unrests have become regular accompaniment for efforts to pave the way for economic reform. This shows the need to introduce all those measures of economic and social policy which will enable a bridging of the coming critical period.

In any case, the Central Committee must not permit deviation from the economic reform course.

An equally delicate task are the changes in the constitution and political system.

The interests of all will be served if changes are made in the Republic of Serbia's constitution which would contribute to greater stability, unity and togetherness in the republic and in all of Yugoslavia.

The country's two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, are part of Serbia.

The Central Committee also has to discuss a working group's findings on top officials' responsibility for mutual conflicts. The friction still exists and personnel changes are also an obligation.

Faced with all this, the Central Committee could not have imagined a more difficult situation.

However, it and other party leaderships are obviously paying the price for inconsistently implementing many previous decisions. That is bad of course, but the country could face an even worse fate if another opportunity is missed.

Demands for the convening of a special party congress are voiced increasingly frequently even by officials.

But will that, in itself, be consolation enough for the already endangered democratic prospects of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia.

The next Central Committee session has every opportunity of being much more historic than all those held so far in the crisis period.

LCY Presidium Letter Read at Veterans' Session

AU0909195588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 88 3

[Unattributed report: "Tempest Over a Letter"]

[Text] At the session of the Presidium of the Federation of Associations of the Veterans the National Liberation war of Yugoslavia held in Belgrade on 7 September after the break and before the business on the agenda was taken up, there was a tempestuous reaction when Petar Matic read a LCY Central Committee Presidium letter (sent to the Veterans' Federation of Croatia) in which the Presidium asks the Presidium of the Veterans' Federation of Croatia for an authorized version of Dusan Pekic's speech at a session of this veterans' body.

Dusan Pekic asked to see the letter and demanded that of Matic say when the letter had been sent, when he had obtained it, to whom it was addressed, and why he was reading it although that was not on the agenda. Matic replied that he would not give him the letter, that it was addressed to him, and that he received it the previous night. When Pekic insisted again, Matic said that he was given the letter that morning, and then he said that it was right before the session.

Mihailo Svabic then told Matic that it was not appropriate to read the letter there without Pekic being acquainted with its content in advance. Radisav Nedeljkovic questioned the manners displayed and asked what all this meant.

The letter addressed to the Veterans' Federation of Croatia says the following:

"At its 93d session held on 6 September 1988, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed among current topics some portions of the speech that Comrade Dusan Pekic, secretary of the Federal Committee Presidium of the Veterans' Federation, made at the session of the Republican Committee Presidium of the Veterans' Federation of Croatia on 5 September 1988, the portions in which he gave an assessment of the work and basic ideopolitical orientations of the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

"According to a report in POLITIKA of 6 September, it turned out that among other things Comrade Pekic said the following:

"The agenda [of the 16th LCY Central Committee session] included the conclusions of the ninth session [of the LCY Central Committee] on Kosovo and the Yugoslav Program on Curbing Emigration and Ensuring Return of Serbs and Montenegrins Who Had Emigrated. At the very beginning, the agenda was undermined by adding another item as part of the main purpose of the session. The debate, however, departed even much further from the adopted agenda, and Albanian nationalists were therefore given a signal that they carry on because they have many protectors in Yugoslavia, within the LCY Central Central Committee, and elsewhere....

"The Kosovo problem is the greatest shame and it compromises the Yugoslav legal system. At the same time it is a potential hotbed (European Lebanon), and the method of debate at the 16th LCY Central Committee session expanded that hotbed to other parts of Yugoslavia. That session and what was written in its wake suggest to us national hatred and civil war."

The LCY Central Committee Presidium decided to ask the Republican Committee Presidium of the Veterans' Federation of Croatia to give the authentic version of

Comrade Dusan Pekic's speech to it, and, therefore, if quotations given by POLITIKA are correct, it will publicly ask that his party responsibility be examined and established.

The letter was signed by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Pekic Denounces Bureaucracy

AU0909201688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 88 p 3

[Speech by Dusan Pekic, secretary of the Federal Committee Presidium of the Veterans' Federation, at the session of the Federal Committee Presidium of the Veterans' Federation in Belgrade on 7 September]

[Text] We accept the stance of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium that single-nationality meetings are not an appropriate method or form of fighting certain problems and that they do not solve problems. However, we veterans of the National Liberation War cannot agree that we should only note that these methods are not appropriate and that we should therefore condemn them, while problems of workers whose existence is threatened and of Kosovo citizens who have been deprived of their rights still remain and pull our community apart and threaten with an explosion that could turn into a civil war.

Another unacceptable assessment of some LCY bodies is that they onesidedly invoke only some conclusions and link to them the principle of democratic centralism. For instance, one is now chiefly asked to comply with the conclusions banning protest meetings and the naming of names. And what about conclusions and stances of the 13th Congress and the LCY Conference, the conclusions on halting counterrevolution in Kosovo, and the like? Should not somebody be responsible there for failing to implement the conclusions and to comply with the principle of democratic centralism? Had the conclusions been implemented, there would have been no mass marches and rallies, there would have been no naming of names.

Imagine how impudent this rotten bureaucracy can be! It declares that the people who fight for elementary freedom and rights, people subjected to terror and oppression are nationalists! And when names are named by people because of idleness or abuse of office, when their posts are called into question, they invoke the conclusion of the 16th LCY Central Committee session and democratic centralism. And when what is involved are hundreds of conclusions on Kosovo, on solving economic crisis, on unjustified social differences, on the protection of social property, and so on, then they do not even mention the responsibility for these conclusions according to the principles of democratic centralism.

We did not keep quiet during monarchist Yugoslavia or during occupation, so we will not keep quiet before socialist bureaucracy either. Now some scoundrels from our own ranks, together with the most rotten bureaucracy, ruin many values of our revolution and postwar developments, values we created with Tito, and they want us to keep silent, to refrain from naming names and demanding their responsibility for many mistakes, for idleness, crimes, and many other misdeeds they have committed. Where are their consciences and their ethics? They say that 40 people have already been named; they immediately jumped to their defense; but the situation is such that naming as many as 400 people would bee too few!

They say that these attacks are unfounded. Does one need better reason than the fact that for the last 10 years, and in some cases for 20 years, these people have occupied key posts in the federation and in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces where the most important decision concerning our future have been made, decisions that have ruined us. They say that they follow Tito's line. This is just a front. We do not recognize anybody being on Tito's line who allowed the counterrevolution to develop in Kosovo; nationalism to run riot all over the country; crime, theft, corruption, and appropriation of social property to reign; and Yugoslavia to come apart through nonsense partitions and disintegration.

I do not know what more these incapable, unconstructive, and even ill-meaning officials would want. To be allowed to destroy completely what has been created?

Regarding the protest meetings of solidarity with the non-Albanian people of Kosovo deprived of their rights—although these meetings began because regular institutions failed to solve problems— as a disciplined LCY member I propose to all the organizers of these rallies that all the announced rallies be postponed until the 17th LCY Central Committee Session. If the 17th LCY Central Committee session fails to take sharp penalty measures against named individuals by relieving all those who did not implement the decisions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session, the Yugoslav Program for Kosovo, the 13th LCY Congress, and the First LCY Conference, of their offices and expelling them from party forums and the LCY, I will then join all the mass rallies and meetings not only against the counterrevolution in Kosovo but also against bureaucracy and the counterrevolution in general. I will return my party card until a more constructive LCY Central Committee is elected, which the people will trust, and until Communists and their committees are the organizers of protest meetings against bureaucratic deformations of all kinds if necessary.

Matic's Removal Urged

LD1109204588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidiums of the LC and SAWP Action Conferences in the 17th local

community in Kosovo Polje today asked for Petar Matic to be removed from the office of the Yugoslav SUBNOR [Federation of Veteran's Associations of Yugoslavs] president. However, support was expressed for Dusan Pekic, whose statement during the recent session of the Croat SUBNOR Republic board was assessed as correct and as having been made by a good Communist.

Support was also expressed for the stand points and measures of the recent session of the SR of Serbia Presidency and of the Presidium of the LC Republican Central Committee. The demand was also made that the entire territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo be "covered" by the special detachment of the militia of the Federal SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs]. The demand was also approved for a special LCY Congress to be held if the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee fails to bring about a radical turnabout in settling the situation in Kosovo.

Dragoslav Markovic's letter was denounced during the meeting, and the demand was voiced that he should be expelled from the LCY and the Council of the Federation. It was proposed that a large Yugoslav protest meeting be held soon in Kosovo Polje as a token of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Veterans Hold Protest Meeting

AU1109183688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] More than 2,000 veterans and citizens of the New Belgrade local communities, Milentije Popovic, Neretva, the Old Fairground, and the Ribar Brothers communities, have held a protest meeting because of the latest occurrences in the leadership of the Yugoslav veterans organization. In letters which were sent to the presidiums of the party and the Yugoslav Veterans Federation, it was demanded that Petar Matic be replaced in the veterans organization and expelled from the LC; that extraordinary congresses of the party and the veterans organization be held; that the next plenum be open; and that Kolj Siroka announce at the plenum the names of those who have betrayed the country or that he be made criminally responsible.

The meeting supported the Serbian leadership and the Serbian constitutional reform, and along with chants of, We Do Not Give Up Pekic, Dusan Pekic was given full support with the statement that there was no reason for initiating the question of his responsibility. Olivija Rusovac reports:

It is an interesting fact that Dusan Pekic was the war commander of one third of those veterans present at today's meeting. The veterans no longer condemn only the actions of Petar Matic, but also criticize the party leadership for disunity and opportunism, as well as certain personalities from earlier times who are considered responsible for the serious situation in the country and for the unsettled constitutional position of Serbia. This particularly concerns Draza Markovic, who the meeting recommended should no longer publish his letters and for whom the meeting sought party responsibility and expulsion from the party.

On behalf of the Milentije Popovic local community Communists, Aleksandar Petrovic sought the unconditional replacement of the present party Presidium, assessing that it is incomprehensible that at the height of the counterrevolution the Presidium is concerned with commissions and name-calling and threatens the grassroots. Therefore, proposals were also heard among the New Belgrade veterans that their party membership be suspended until the 17th session settled accounts with Kolj Siroka, Vlasi, Krunic, Matic, Vrhovec, and others. Petrovic went on to say:

[Begin Petrovic recording] All the meetings of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins so far have pointed out that the people have in fact become conscious that the constitutional position of the SR of Serbia should be clearly defined [shouts of 'Hear! Hear!'] and that this is the basic condition [applause] for getting out of the political crisis in the country as a whole and particularly in Kosovo. It has become clear to honest communists and to all the people that the present provincial leaders are opposed to the changes and that these leaders are supported by certain leaders of the highest state and party leaderships of the country. [applause and cheering] [end Petrovic recording]

(Vasilije Pesanski) asked by which right Draza Markovic and Petar Stambolic endorsed the Constitution without the people and Bosko Todorovic said that only an extraordinary congress could replace individuals in the leadership who are well-known either because in their time the country got into huge debts or because they became richer.

The last and unannounced speaker was Batric Jovanovic, who was noisily welcomed. He said that if the party leadership wanted to prove that there were no allies of separatism and autonomism in their ranks, they should impose the obligation on provincial communists to ensure agreement with the Serbian constitutional changes; they should expel from the Central Committee those individuals who tried to carry out a putsch in the leadership of the Serbian LC at the closed-open session [of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee on 13 July] in Novi Sad; they should expel separatists and their allies from their ranks, and demand that Fadilj Hodza be locked up, because, as he put it, there would be no real differentiation in Kosovo without that.

Veterans Demand Matic's Removal

LD1209104888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0934 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—Petar Matic does not have to submit his resignation. He should be removed from his post of president of the Federation of

Veterans Associations of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR]. The mistakes he has made are obvious, and it is surprising that Dusan Pekic, with whose views a great many war veterans are in agreement, should not be called to account and be equated with Matic. This was stressed during the enlarged session today of the Belgrade SUBNOR Presidium where the view was heard that the name of Dusan Pekic be submitted as the new SUBNOR president.

Milosevic Addresses Serbian Leaders 5 Sep

AU1109194688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report on speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, at a joint session of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia in Belgrade on 5 September]

[Text] Meetings of solidarity with the struggle of the Serbs and Montenegrins against the counterrevolution in Kosovo have been held for 2 months now. These meetings demonstrated a massive, united, and truly sincere and resolute readiness of a tremendous number of citizens, belonging to all peoples and nationalities, to help to make the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo equal to the position of the majority population in Kosovo that is now Albanian.

But in addition to being an expression of solidarity with the citizens who are endangered in everything they possess including their very lives, these meetings are an expression of dissatisfaction at the fact that the state, political, and other appropriate institutions and organizations, and especially their leaderships, did not undertake in good time all the necessary measures to stop the counterrevolution at its very beginning, and they have thus contributed to its escalation, Slobodan Milosevic stressed at the beginning of his closing speech.

Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, as well as all progressive and humane people in Serbia and all our country, have shown patience for the inefficiencies of their state and the lack of ability of their representatives in it, a patience that few other peoples would show in civilized, democratic, urbane Europe at present. Or perhaps no people would show patience to the same degree. There are no rapes on a national basis anywhere in Europe any more, and there is no humiliation of children and old people on this basis, at least not on a mass scale and in an organized way.

Citizens Will Not Keep Silent and Suffer [subhead]

This patience ran out this summer. A little more than 1 year ago, the ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo set the tasks for stopping the counterrevolution and eliminating its consequences.

A year later, in July this year, the plenum of the LCY Central Committee that discussed the implementation of these tasks decided that they had not been implemented. But at the same time, there was no calling institutions, organizations, and individuals to account for not implementing these tasks. As the session was public, all who followed it all over our country could see this.

Nothing could be more logical and I must say more honest than an expression of dissatisfaction by citizens, and especially communists, because of this absence of results and this absence of responsibility, as well as their naming the institutions, organizations, and individuals who assumed the tasks but did not implement them.

This is a democratic, honest, and expected reaction, the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia assessed. The job that institutions, organizations, and individuals assumed, but did not do, must be done, but obviously by other individuals. These are the rules of the game that apply in bourgeois democracy, which we disdainfully consider, sometimes quite unjustifiably, a democracy of a lower rank, a mere formality.

In our country, in a society that has attained the highest level of democracy known to humanity, which is called and is considered to be self-managing, the expression of and the respect for the will of the people, citizens, the workers class, should be sacred. There is no will that is superior, more pressing, and more justified than the will of the workers class, the working people, and citizens. We have heard this will in Serbia, and the leadership simply has no other task but to respect and to implement this will. And this is what we are doing.

After all, we did want such a society. From 1950 up to this day, we have been telling citizens and working people day after day that they are the subjects in the political system, that they, all of them and equally, manage society, and that power in this country belongs to them. From a tender age, from elementary school onward, we teach our children that self-management is a society in which every person decides on the conditions, means, and results of their lives and work, and that such society is most progressive in the world.

Behold, what we have explained to the people and have taught the children has begun to materialize. People not only want to and know how to express their opinion, but want to realize their views, Milosevic added.

It appears that citizens will no longer keep silent and suffer and will not even suffer the sanctions, not because they could not endure blows, for instance, but because they have received many blows throughout their history and will no longer suffer being beaten or being humiliated. Therefore the announcements about a negative assessment of the meetings, rallies, and mass gatherings of citizens sound incredible.

All these leaderships swore on the people, democracy, the freedom of expressing one's opinions, and the public, until the other day. Now everything is here: the people, democracy, freely expressed opinions, and the public. At once this is assessed as a negative and dangerous phenomenon which should be stopped as soon as possible. It should be stopped indeed, by liquidating the counterrevolution and terrorism against the Serbs and Montenegrins, but not by ordering the victims of violence to keep quiet and to suffer violence.

Rallies an Expression of Opinion [subhead]

In connection with the solidarity meetings, and in connection with other rallies that were held this summer in Serbia, three things ought to be clarified. They should be clarified, not because of the public in Serbia, for they are clear to the citizens of Serbia, but because of the Yugoslav public at large, because of other Yugoslav peoples, and because of our comrade communists all over Yugoslavia who unfortunately have no opportunity to obtain true information because of the divisions in our information field.

First, the position that rallies, the holding of meetings are unacceptable and as it is said in some announcements, "extra-institutional," is not correct. First of all, it is not correct because gatherings of people for the purpose of expressing, publicly and on a mass scale, their agreement or disagreement with some occurrences in society in which they live have always been one of the ways of expressing the opinions of the broad strata of the people, from classical times to the present. We have been proud of such rallies through our history, and especially in the latest history of our workers movement. Have we not, after all, expressed support in this way, not only for progressive changes in our society, and also welcomed progressive ideas and people in the world, and denounced injustice and terrorism wherever they may have happened? Furthermore, it was not rascals and drug addicts that gathered, but workers, youths, veterans, communists, peasants, our people, President Milosevic stated.

Of course, it would be easier for all, the state and the citizens, if every business, including this one against the counterrevolution, would be carried out through the institutions. However, facts, reality, and life itself have shown that the institutions function slowly, in a contradictory way, and some of them not at all. I do not say, I do not think, nobody thinks that one should give up the so-called institutional way of managing relations among people because the institutions have not functioned or have found it difficult to function. On the contrary, with their gatherings, working people demand that the institutions should do their work. This spirit is more than present at the gatherings: It is glaring, and it is virtually dominant. Citizens demand a change of the Constitution that will ensure them a working, just, and secure life through respective institutions.

Finally, such gatherings are in conformity with our Constitution, as it is known or as it ought to be known.

Second, there has been criticism of a thesis that is present, to the effect that the gatherings in Serbia are single-nationality gatherings. This also is not true. From the very beginning, Serbs and Montenegrins have gathered in Kosovo jointly protesting against their position. The question thus arises: Which of the two is to be deprived of their rights to nationality when you call these gatherings single-national? Even the thesis that the gatherings are on a national basis is not acceptable. In this specific situation it sounds less ironical than witless. People gather on the basis on which they are attacked and endangered. They are being prosecuted as Serbs and Montenegrins, and so they emigrate or defend themselves as Serbs and Montenegrins. They cannot defend themselves, or emigrate, or gather as Dutchmen, or Protestants, or cotton growers, for nobody disturbs them on that basis.

As regards the gatherings all over Serbia, they certainly are not single-national ones. They are attended by citizens of Serbia, and their structure is truly multinational, especially in Vojvodina, where huge masses attend the rallies, but representatives of all peoples and nationalities are present, for it is known that many of these people live in Vojvodina. If anything is of a single nationality, it is the counterrevolution, for its protagonists are members only of a single nationality.

Mass Participation Is Not Negative [subhead]

Third, it is being said that the gatherings in Serbia involve the masses. Of course, masses here have a negative connotation; they are compared with the "mass movement" in Croatia at the beginning of the seventies. We do not deny, and it does not occur to us to deny that everything that has been happening in Serbia this summer has involved the masses, and we do not consider this to be a fault of the events in Serbia. On the contrary, we consider this to be their virtue. The very fact that an occurrence involves the masses does not mean that it has a negative nature. It all depends on what the masses are striving for. In this case they are striving for a unified Yugoslavia, for the socialist system, for brotherhood and unity, for the equality of Serbia with other republics, for a struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, for a just and dignified life of all the people in Yugoslavia.

Such demands expressed by the masses can only do honor to those who express them. The problem then is not the people who publicly, clearly, and en masse express such demands, but those who denounce them. Did we not in the very same way massively decide for the socialist revolution and embark on it? Did not the masses support the construction of our country? Did we not massively denounce the Cominform? Did we not massively decide for self-management? In general, would

we have succeeded in these great historical battles had the masses of the working people and citizens and all the people not decided to support them and had the masses not participated in them?

Of course, the masses may also support conservative ideas, intolerance, and hatred toward other nations and people. History unfortunately also records such feelings and reactions of the masses. However, in this case it obviously is not so. As everybody knows, there is no place in Serbia and no community in which anybody would be discriminated against for not being a Serb. All the people know that very well. Therefore, would all those who are worried about the alleged Serbian nationalist "mass movement"—and those now seem to be, ahead of all the malevolent ones, the people who used to draw up lists and count heads in 1971—kindly tell us publicly about each and every such or similar case in Serbia, about every individual who suffers the consequences in Serbia because he is not a Serb? On the contrary, we are proud that nobody in Serbia can say that he was deprived of anything because he was not a Serb. Those who are deprived of everything in Serbia are only the Serbs and the Montenegrins in Kosovo. This situation must cease, urgently and at once. Precisely as it was said about the situation at the meeting in Crvenka yesterday: The only deadline that is acceptable is: at once.

The fact that unacceptable, hostile, even Chetnik-like slogans, for instance, "Death to Shiptars" [pejorative term for Kosovo Albanians] could also be heard at these meetings must not be belittled and it must not be allowed to be called by anything but its proper name, but this cannot compromise these gatherings in general; not only because these slogans are isolated, but also because, and primarily because the citizens themselves expressed the greatest possible feeling for everything that is hostile, nationalist, antisocialist, and anti-Yugoslav. However, no such case must be underestimated, for the most dangerous anticommunist and nationalist forces are those that we do not oppose in good time. I think that everybody in Yugoslavia may freely and surely count on this truly high consciousness of our citizens. They will not allow the atmosphere at any meeting to present an opportunity for expressing intolerance toward the fundamental values of our society, and especially intolerance toward other peoples, above all the Albanians, who are most in danger because of the misdeeds of the Albanian chauvinists.

The Albanian people never had an easy fate. They lived for a long time in poverty, many of them find it difficult to live even today, and the majority are badly affected by the fact that their countrymen, the chauvinists, terrorize a population, the children of another people who are in the minority in this part of Serbia, and are completely unprotected at this moment. However, we should stress 100 times that we will not permit any injustice against the Albanian people, that there is no hatred, that we must win the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo only together with the Albanians. Communists, working people, and citizens of Serbia understand quite well that if the Albanian chauvinists have, over time, subjected the Serbs and Montenegrins as well as all others who are not Albanians, to pressure and persecution, it is not a historical, nor a political, nor a humane answer to subject the Albanian people and Albanian children in any way to revanchism. Chauvinists and nationalists of the Albanian people, as well as of any other people must be condemned. Let no one give lessons to the citizens of Serbia on this.

There is no nationalist people but every people has its chauvinists, nationalists, and primitive and aggressive people who nurture and spread hatred for other peoples. It is the duty of every people to strangle this serpent in its bosom and to do this by itself without waiting for warnings, calls, and pleas from those for whom the hatred is expressed. This should particularly be the case in a democratic, progressive, and humane society.

The People Have Written the Tasks [subhead]

Bearing all this in mind, the Serbian leadership has no other task than to struggle to realize the demands of their citizens, the workers class, and Communists, to be on the side of the citizens and working people in everything. If they did not do this in democratic countries, then they would be suspended and changed. In undemocratic countries they would be in conflict with their people; the people would fight for a new order, for new persons, and the present leadership would attempt to silence the people and to frighten them and to keep them in submission.

Since we are fortunately a democratic society, we will remain, despite bureaucratic efforts, alongside working people and citizens, and we will attempt to realize the demands that they are presenting. Especially as they are in the spirit of the most progressive precepts of our revolution and in the spirit of the precepts for which progressive people throughout the world are fighting.

This particularly holds for Communists. Ever since it was formed as a political organization, the party of the proletariat has always been alongside its class, alongside those who are the reason for its existence, whose present historical interests it protects. Whenever that has not been the case, Communists have ceased to be the party of the class, they have become the arrogant bureaucratic stratum which thinks, speaks, and acts in its own interests. They have known how to defend these interests, as we unfortunately have seen throughout history: crudely, tenaciously, and vengefully.

Therefore, in order that the Communists may implement their historical class task, they must stand by the class whose vanguard they are, wherever that class may be: in the factory, in the school, in the field, in the street,

or in the squares; in successes as well as in difficulties; in the struggle of the workers class for its interests, incessantly and at the head of them.

This is nothing new and this is all.

Serbian Leadership Discusses Kosovo Situation

LD0609164588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—In all essential respects the political and security situation in Kosovo is getting significantly worse. In the past month, since the 16th LCY Central Committee plenum, several incidents have occurred which constitute an extremely serious warning about the negative tendencies of the continuing aggressive activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism which, if it is not ended urgently and in a radical way, will have wider and tragic consequences, said Petar Gracanin [president of the Serbian Presidency] today in his introductory speech at a joint session of the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. The meeting discussed the current political and security situation in Kosovo.

Speaking more broadly about the heightened activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, Petar Gracanin noted that the hostile leaflets which have been distributed in many places in the province call Albanians to an armed uprising with the aim of destroying the constitutional system of Yugoslavia, realizing an ethnically pure Kosovo, creating a republic of Kosovo and union with Albania. This shows that the Albanian nationalists are radicalizing the method of their struggle. They are telling the Albanian nationality that there is no longer time to wait, and they are telling the Serbs and Montenegrins that they must leave Kosovo.

Kosovo is not the ultimate goal for them, as they have shown specifically over the last few days. Now they are going to Macedonia, with the intention of demonstrating and marking the borders of a Greater Albania. Their intention to bring about, if possible, tragic consequences is clear, and above all they want, through constant harassment and humiliation, to force the Serbs and Montenegrins to protect themselves and to react drastically.

Intranational relations are at a point where a mass mutual settling of accounts threatens a direct intranational conflict. However the responsibility for this lies with all those, above all the leaders and the leaderships, who, in delaying the final settling of accounts with counterrevolution have permitted fear, distrust, discord, even hatred to prevail among people. Dissatisfaction and distrust among the working people and citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality has reached a climax, and it is not possible to expect any more patience than they have already shown.

Stressing that today in Kosovo there reigns a terror such as Yugoslavia had not seen on its territory since the war, Gracanin continued, citing a substantial number of concrete examples of attacks by Albanian separatists on individual Serbs and Montenegrins, on their honor and their property, noting that these were not individual situations, but that it was as though they were becoming a way of life.

The organs of government and institutions of the system in Kosovo are not operating efficiently and are not guaranteeing constitutionality and legality, the personal and legal security of the people, protection of their rights, property and interests, Petar Gracanin, president of the Serbian Presidency, went on to say. There are objective reasons for this (incompetence, lack of organization, material conditions), but the question is also being asked: how great is the influence of Albanian nationalists on the institutions of the system?

As an illustration there is the example of the Albanian engineer at the Inkos enterpise in Pristina who attempted to rape a Serbian girl at his place of work, Gracanin stressed. For this he first received 40 days imprisonment for a minor offence, then his sentence was reduced to 20 days, and according to information which has been made public, he served only 11 days. This must be explained by the competent organs of the Socialist Republic of Kosovo not only to the Yugoslav public, but also to the Presidency of the Serbian SR. Such cases lead to the belief that support is being given to Albanian nationalists and separatists even through the activity of the legal organs of government in Kosovo, either directly or by reducing the importance of cases of attacks on the integrity of people, their property, rights and freedoms.

Petar Gracanin also noted the existence of differing assessments of the state of affairs. For example, the latest report from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs commission on the security situation in Kosovo indicates that, particularly in recent months, the situation in the province has worsened. In this report it is stated that conditions are impossible for the daily life and work of the Serbian and Montengrin population, because the threats to the freedoms and rights of citizens and the attacks on their integrity and property are continuing. The assessments in this report fully confirmed the evaluation of the 12th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. However, the assessments of the province organs, on the basis of which they have kept the republic and federation organs and the broad public informed, are significantly different from these. This indicates a total lack of political sensitivity to a juncture where only one more step is needed for Kosovo to become ethnically pure.

The situation in Kosovo does not give anyone the right to tone down and mitigate assessments, although it is obvious that such tendencies are not infrequent. Those who advocate them can certainly not be allies and sympathizers in efforts to urgently and resolutely change

the situation, nor can they count on the confidence of those in Kosovo who are most directly and most brutally threatened, said Petar Gracanin.

The unresolved differences in the evaluation of the situation and the determination for action, the insufficient and disunited Yugoslav action aimed at finally crushing the counterrevolution and the delays in calling to account organs and individuals, have also in many ways encouraged and given momentum to hostile activity. The futile expectations and calls for the system and its organs to react and protect the rights and freedoms of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have lead firstly to criticism and then to self-organization and to the increasingly strident naming of names of individuals in the organs, in particular the leaders in the province.

In criticizing self-organization and protest meetings as noninstitutional, the fact must be borne in mind above all that the failure of the legal organs over a long period in Kosovo to carry out their constitutional and legal duties, the fact that they have failed in this test, is a negation of the system. Such blockades, idlenesss and illegality cannot be called a system, particularly not one that is socialist, self-managing, democratic and humane. This is why any kind of symmetry between Albanian nationalists and the dissatisfied people is unacceptable while the counterrevolution lasts in the province, said Gracanin, adding that evidence could be given to show that the theory about the nationalistic character of the protest meetings is being put forward by those who are endeavoring to shift the focus of organized political and social action away from the struggle against Albanian nationalism, as the main opponent, toward the qualification and labeling of the gatherings of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality. This has been taken up by all those for whom the solution to the drama in Kosovo does not mean a Yugoslav problem, but one exclusively for Serbia.

Legal representatives of sociopolitical organizations, from local communities to republican level, are present at the protest meetings and take part in them, Petar Gracanin recalled. At every protest meeting held so far, full support has been expressed for all the progressive forces in Kosovo in the struggle against the counterrevolution. The meetings which are being organized these days outside Kosovo show the unmistakable solidarity of the people in those environments with the disenfranchised citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in Kosovo. It is essentially a question of the democratic right of working people and citizens, guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution, to publically put forward their stand, not only on the counterrevolution in Kosovo, but also on the policies being conducted in connection with this by the socialist forces in Yugoslavia. The fact that both leaderships and organs are today exposed to criticism for their inefficiency and lack of success in the struggle against the counterrevolution, cannot be sufficient reason for anyone to give themselves the right to dispute, prevent or politically disown these meetings. On the contrary, I believe that the political organs should not fear those who have elected them, and that we must accept and implement the argued messages and demands which are being put forward by the people at these meetings. And communists must always be among the people and with the people.

It is unacceptable that the victims of violence should be denied the right to protest against the violence they are exposed to. The more so as our past revolutionary meetings were one of the proven and permanently recognized methods of political action and revolutionary mobilization by the grassroots to build socialism and self-management and oppose aggression in the world, that is to support progressive and liberation movements. This same Tito-style elan and enthusiasm among the people is a welcome way of more rapidly resolving serious problems. We cannot, therefore, put a stop to gatherings and meetings with a decision or a decree, but can only avoid them, as we committed ourselves to doing at the ninth plenum—by energetically resolving the problems and main causes leading to them.

The reply to the frequently posed question: Why do the Serbs and Montenegrins have so much mistrust of the legal institutions in Kosovo, why do they have such a feeling that they have been left to their own fate, lies partly in the fact that in Kosovo there is no real political action, there is no united front in the struggle of communists, Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, all those who live in Kosovo—Turks, Muslims, Romanies and so on. Many leaderships are still not with the people. There are no positive programs. And this is the reason why there are no results in halting emigration, in reviving intranational trust, in preventing the indoctrination of young people. When there is no political struggle, the ideopolitical differentiation which will strengthen the attitude of forces in favor of the LCY policies is not implemented. Without this it is not possible to heighten responsibility and carry out the essential cadre renewal with people who are ready and able to find solutions on the basis of the policy of brotherhood and unity, in the schools, work organizations, local communities, villages, municipalities, and throughout Kosovo.

Even since the 16th session there has been a kind of change in theories, causes and consequences in practical political action in Kosovo. Once again, theories are being put forward and advocated which are politically contrary to the conclusions of the ninth plenum. As is well-known these are the theories that the main reasons for the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins are economic; that the emigration under duress is negligible; that excesses are dramatized and that we are unnecessarily wasting a lot of energy on them; that emigration is a natural process; that Albanians are also emigrating; that it is also taking place from Bosnia and the Sandzak; that no government can resolve the problems in Kosovo if the citizens themselves do not do so; that not even an ethnically pure Kosovo will destabilize Yugoslavia, and

so on. The public statement of such theories by certain officials and members of the leaderships deadens the will of those Kosovo cadres and broader strata of the Albanian nationality who would like to resolutely and radically put a stop to Albanian nationalism and prevent the influence and activity of the people who inspire nationalistic indoctrination.

Continuing his speech, Petar Gracanin stated that the leadership of the SR of Serbia is determined to responsibly carry out its tasks and to justify the trust of those who elected them. We have great unity in the leadership, he said, which in the present situation is an essential prerequisite for successful work and the solution of problems. We are struggling with all our strength to carry out our obligations toward Kosovo, and key steps are being taken at this moment to realize the jurisdiction of the SR of Serbia throughout the whole of its territory, which will facilitate the application of the law and other measures essential to guarantee a civilized and just life for all the citizens of Kosovo. This also includes the changes to the SR of Serbia constitution, the draft changes of which are discussed at present in a democratic public debate.

However, in some environments, a climate of suspicion of the present leadership of the Serbian SR is being created of late, ascribing to it nationalism, hegemonistic pretensions; and similar descriptions are also used of the Serbian people. This introduces confusion among the Yugoslav public in the current, already serious, political and economic situation. All political and economic programs in the SR of Serbia are democratically approved and publically announced. They are in the interests of the working class, the Serbian nation and all nations and nationalities living in the SR of Serbia, and they are not to the detriment of any nation in Yugoslavia, that they contribute to its unity, stability and prosperity. This is our answer to the current situation.

In the final part of his speech, Petar Gracanin proposed the conclusions of this joint session of the two presidiums. The first stresses that at this moment the key task is to guarantee the complete personal and material security of citizens and therefore to support the decision of the SFRY Presidency to alter the method of involvement of the combined units of militia of the Federal Secretariat of Internal affairs, but also expresses dismay at the delay in implementing this decision.

We are demanding, Gracanin said, that the decision by which members of the units will be deployed in municipalities and local communites, and thereby through their direct involvement will ensure the personal and material security of all, and in particular the Serbs and Montenegrins, should be strictly implemented at once. We will call for additional forces to be formed in Serbia to this end, which will be made available to assist the federal unit.

Gracanin proposed that the conclusions should also contain the stance that the Serbian LC, including the organs of the Kosovo LC, should assess by the end of September the work and behavior of the direct exponents of obligations and tasks. Personal accountability would also be established for all those whose duty it is to realize the conclusions on Kosovo but who have not done so.

It is the duty of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium to take the most energetic measures and to immediately remove pressures and put a stop to emigration. The two presidiums are calling for a resolute settling of accounts with all the forces which are opposing and hampering the consistent implementation of the policies on Kosovo, for a stop to all compromises, opportunism and indecision in carrying out the clear tasks of the ninth plenum of the LCY Central Committee.

The Serbian presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium consider that if the nationalistic pressures against Serbs and Montenegrins continue and if conditions for the peaceful and secure life of all citizens in Kosovo are not ensured, bearing in mind that all the powers of jurisidiction are in the hands of the province, it will be natural and inevitable to raise the question of the political accountability of the leadership of Kosovo, were the conclusions proposed by Petar Gracanin at the end of his speech state.

The LC in Kosovo has been defeated in practical terms on the key question of our party's program and on the question of the national equality policy. This policy has fallen apart there, though this is the basis our community's stability, said Ljubisa Igic. This must be recognized and, starting from that point, measures and action taken and means must be found: Political, cadre, organizational and legal, and constitutional conditions must be created for the action to be conducted. [passage omitted]

What are Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo to do in a situation of constant violence other than to flee—which the Albanian nationalists and separatists want—or to hold rallies, organize themselves and systematically draw to the country's attention what kind of situation they are in and organize their self-protection, said Aleksandar Mitrovic, focusing on a fundamental dilemma. Unfortunately the people are doing this besides the legal organs of protection, both at the level of the province and at the level of the republic and at the level of Yugoslavia, Mitrovic went on. And then some dare to call these nationalist gatherings. [passage omitted]

In this context Mitrovic commented that we have been negotiating for 3 and ½ months now on sending the police into the municipalities and the local communities. The irredentists, it appears, wanted and want this, and the question is who is not helping them in all this. [passage omitted]

In Belgrade, in which members of all our nations and nationalities live, we feel great pressure from workers, students, pupils and veterans and the intelligentsia for a meeting of unity and solidarity to be organized in Belgrade too, Aleksandar Bakocevic said. He added that the motives are so powerful, currently relevant and driving that he estimates that this would be the biggest meeting in the postwar history of Belgrade and our country. In the past in Belgrade—at meetings in support of liberation movements and peoples defending their elementary rights, or on the occasion of Comrade Tito's return from his journeys of peace—we had between 250,000 and 300,000 participants. Now I believe that over 600,000 to 700,000 people would take part in the meeting, not counting those who would come from nearby villages and towns. I see the biggest problem in where so many people could hold a solidarity meeting. All the squares are too small to take them, Bakocevic says.

Recalling the assessments made at the last sessions of the highest party body in the republic, according to which concrete results were achieved, Kacusa Jasari drew attention to the fact that since then something has been happening and is not permitting this possible turnabout to be implemented more quickly, and furthermore, that the situation in some segments in Kosovo is deteriorating. Thus the LC must not only provide an answer to this, but must put an end to these tendencies. Our situation, according to Kacusa Jasari, does not tolerate either a verbal or a generalized assessment, but mobility and intensified responsibility for the situation in Kosovo, especially in intranational relations and for the process of Serb and Montenegrin emigration. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the protest gatherings, Kacusa Jasari stressed that the causes must be removed. However, I do not support the view that we should stimulate these gatherings, though I believe that there is such support, the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee said. Gatherings on a single nation basis certainly provide ammunition for the activity, if only verbal, of Albanian nationalism and create an anti-Serb mood.

Through working together we could have helped each other in many ways instead of creating, by our different approach, an even more unstable situation. Besides investing great efforts, the Serbian LC should also have considered its responsibility to crate good national relations throughout the republic, Kacusa Jasari said. [passage omitted]

An important place in Nikola Ljubicic's speech was given to the relationship between leaderships. We are working on changes to some parts of the constitution, which have also led to greater tension in relations, especially in the SR of Serbia, Ljubicic said. Recently several meetings have been held in the SFRY Presidency with the leaderships of the republics and provinces at which leaders from the Republic of Serbia made concrete proposals for changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, which should now be adopted. We in the SFRY Presidency believe that what we heard at the time represents a good basis for agreement and that we should continue to work on this so as to finalize matters as soon as possible. We believe that these proposals are realistic and that Serbia as a republic must be constituted as a state just like all the other republics and that it should not seek anything beyond this. We believe that work should be done quickly on this because this would have a significant impact on calming the present situation, not only within Serbia but in Yugoslavia as a whole.

I believe, Ljubicic continued, that with the frequent disputes among communists which we have had up to now in the information media and in other ways, formerly over principled issues and often over unprincipled issues, we are opening up room for antisocialist forces to spread their influence and to make their voices heard more than usual. This is why we have the widespread phenomenom of attacks on the achievements of the revolution, on Tito, on previous leading people as well as on some present day ones. This is an attempt to invalidate the revolution and the National Liberation War and an aspiration to create a picture of the whole of our revolution as having been one big failure.

It is a good thing that the Serbian LC Central Committee is now taking up the struggle against Greater Serbian nationalism. This should be further continued in an even more energetic way and we should proceed toward eliminating all those who could hinder us in implementing the political stances which we are adopting to develop our socialism and self-managing social system.

Where it is a question of the information media in the Republic of Serbia, we must bring our influence to bear so tht it informs the public objectively and discover ways to do this. I believe that we must make our influence felt so that this same thing is done by others in their own environments as well.

The information media today, Ljubicic said, ought to work on informing and linking up the nations and nationalities within Yugoslavia and should not sow the seeds of suspicion and distrust to the effect that other leaderships are making attacks, and the media should not worry about how others are implementing political stances somewhere on the other side of the River Drina or Sava, etc, without taking account of how things are done and what is done within their own environment. It seems to me that these matters ought to be brought up in the LCY Central Committee Presidium and that we have an obligation to raise them in the SFRY Presidency, because we must fight against phenomena which break up the unity of Yugoslavia.

We can no longer accept such a situation in Kosovo, Ljubicic stressed. Whether the leadership of Serbia and the provinces agree on some questions and reactions to Kosovo or not, this is irrelevant for those people down

there who are suffering, who have to emigrate, who cannot send their children to school and whom they rape down there. We must reach agreement, and if we cannot, then we should see who is to blame for this.

Inactivity, opportunism, irresponsibility, collusion with irredentists, this cannot be justified by disagreement over the gatherings by endangered people who are now in desperation seeking salvation and a solution in gatherings. If we judge that the situation in Kosovo has been deteriorating after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, then we are admitting that the irredentists and the counterrevolution are achieving greater successes than us. Why is this so?

We, Ljubicic said, should not and will not admit defeat. We must say loudly and clearly that we will no longer allow a policy which leads to the break-up of Yugoslavia, that we will not allow one iota of Yugoslav space to be alienated and that all those who play the Yugoslav disunity card are deceiving themselves. There will be no disunity when it is a question of Kosovo because then it is a question of Yugoslavia, Ljubicic stressed.

Ljubicic also drew attention to the importance of work among young people because the irredentists are implanting hatred toward the Serbian people and the survival of Yugoslavia. What we do is prove to young people that their solution lies in brotherhood and unity with Serbs and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

It is illogical that the young generation which the working class of Yugoslavia and Serbia earmarks funds for, hates us. What sort of influence is there of policy and political people in Kosovo, who receive these funds, while they cannot explain to people that they ought to be at least tolerant of those who provide funds for them and not hate them. How much is the young generation told about the fund for the underdeveloped regions, about the amount of these funds, and the Yugoslav program for the development of Kosovo and other things. There should be more talk of what links Kosovo to Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia and less about the differences.

We now have a call by Albanian nationalists for an uprising. Is the authority now in place in Kosovo ready to fight against counterrevolution, Ljubicic wondered, observing that there are complaints about those who should be ensuring order, legal justice and a secure life for all citizens in Kosovo.

Hence the question is seriously raised about the election of people to the organs of authority. What sort of policemen do we have if they attack a prioress? What sort of policemen do we have if they refuse to bear the Yugoslav flag? What sort of other organs do we have which should establish order in Kosovo in the system of authority? Ljubicic proposed that an urgent meeting be sought in the SFRY Presidency with the leadership of the provinces of Kosovo and Serbia, and that everyone undertake concretely, and at the level of the federation, their tasks and that everyone be obliged to implement them.

At the end, Nikola Ljubicic stressed that there is a justifiable request that Albanian communists and others fight against their own nationalism but that an even more intense struggle must be opened up against Serbian nationalism, but that an even more intense struggle must be opened up against Serbian nationalism and anticommunism. The people expect this and their trust is gained through work and the struggle.

Links between the people and the working class should be strengthened and it is difficult to understand why some people do not like links between the leadership and the Republic of Serbia and the people. They attack, insult, lie and make up their own excuses for their attacks. They go so far as to attack not only personalities but also to insult the Serbian people as well. It would be a good thing if they devoted such concern to themselves and saw why nationalism and such important phenomena are occuring in their midst.

Ljubicic proposed that, via the Council of the Republic, attempts be made to maintain unity with the previous leaders of the republic because these people too have worked in those conditions on the development of Serbia and Yugoslavia. It is certain that they have made mistakes in their work but there can be no disputing the good intentions of the people who then worked in the leadership of Serbia.

Thus, the name-calling of those who have gone is not good. It is better for us to establish contact, to see what they propose and to work together to strengthen and save Yugoslavia as a whole. We are turning to the future, Ljubicic said.

A decisive turnabout to change the whole situation in Kosovo, according to Milenko Markovic, can take place only when the emigration under duress of Serbs and Montenegrins and all others from Kosovo, ceases. In a situation where the Serbian and Montenegrin population is less than 10 percent of the Kosovo population and when emigration is continuing intensively, it must be clear to everyone that something urgent and effective must be undertaken to put a stop to the genocidal activity of Albanian nationalists. Unless we do this in the immediate future the Yugoslav program and other measures become meaningless.

Markovic observed that it has been openly stated what the disagreement between the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Central Committee Presidium is about and on what issues there are differences. These differences have still not yet been

overcome although the extent to which disunity in the LC facilitated this deleterious result—the forced emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo—is known. [passage omitted]

The references to Comrades Koljgeci and Jasari that they are not sufficiently prepared for debate, if correct, are very negative characteristics of their current activity, Borisav Jovic observed. They are the most responsible officials in Kosovo who, if they are at the center of the action against the counterrevolution would always be more prepared than any of us for talks on this topic. I believe that they are indeed prepared, but I fear that there is a question of suspicion toward stances which we could adopt or of the actions which we would like to take but which we have not agreed in advance at closed meetings.

It must be understood once and for all that negotiations behind the backs of the public is a thing of the past which should not be repeated. The dramatic situation which Comrade Gracanin has pointed to is not a figment of the imagination but really does exist.

The problem of Kosovo and Albanian seperatism and nationalism is rapidly growing into a problem of the survival of Yugoslavia. Not only are we faced with an ethnically pure Kosovo, but the penetration of Albanian nationalism and seperatism in Macedonia and in other directions is so powerful that it must be clear to everyone that in the face of our disunity the idea of a Greater Albania is being implemented at the expense of the break-up of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The political security situation in Kosovo has also been made exceptionally difficult as a result of the increasingly obvious growth in the differences of viewpoint between the leadership of Serbia and the comrades from Kosovo who have spoken here today. It must be clear to everyone that the primary and greatest responsibility for the situation in Kosovo rests with the leadership of Kosovo. It will not be able to escape its responsibility if the situation does not improve, regardless of the extent to which it thinks the nicest things about itself. Yugoslavia will presumably not permit itself another 1981 and allow the leadership to get off again without responsibility, Jovic stressed.

Jovic specified that nothing would be gained from attempts to shift responsibility onto 600 activists from the SR of Serbia in Kosovo who have allegedly caused a deterioration in the situation, or activity in connection with the Serbian constitution. These are unacceptable methods which attempt to disqualify globally the policy of the Serbian LC—a disqualification which must be rejected politically and in practice. Attempts are made to depict a situation in which initiatives are made by the province for reaching agreement on the amendments to the Serbian constitution, which we in the republic all ignore. [passage omitted]

What is now expected by the public and would make a major contribution to improving the political situation both in the SR of Serbia and in the country as a whole, is the need for the competent political leadership of the province to adopt a political stance in relation to the proposed draft amendments to the constitution of the SR of Serbia, which would be a move toward the adoption of these amendments.

It is the responsibility of these leaderships to assess and take note of this need and its significance for the political security situation in the country, Jovic concluded. [passage omitted].

We are coming to the end of this several-hour-long meeting and will be dispersing while the public asks: What in fact, when it comes to key questions, have we agreed to and can some progress be expected tomorrow, Bogdan Trifunovic asked. As a result, in his words, today's talks to ought to have ended with some concrete agreement on what will be undertaken as a matter of urgency. [passage omitted]

Speaking about people's gatherings, Trifunovic observed thta the citizens of Vojvodina, at the meetings they have held and in other ways are offering real support to the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in accordance with their demands for the implementation of constitutionality, justice, equality, freedom, and a peaceful life.... They are not satisfied only with principled proclamations of support nor with some kind of statements, feelings of sympathy and understanding of the problems etc.

It is characteristic that in the speeches of a large number of people at these meetings there is a clear rejection of the policy of some influential officials in Vojvodina which, as was also said at these meetings, because it objectively blocked many years constitutional changes, has also contributed to the resistance by specific political structures in Kosovo to making any essential changes in the relations in the SR of Serbia, Trifunovic stressed. [passage omitted]

For Remzi Koljgeci there is no disputing that the situation in Kosovo is threatened the most by Albanian nationalism, but some forms of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism also affect the overall situation.

Measures for halting emigration up to now have not been satisfactory. The difficult economic situation in which we find ourselves has a different angle to it where Kosovo is concerned. There can be no rapid solutions to the problem of family planning or to the more than 135,000 unemployed, of which 16,000 are Serbs and Montenegrins.

Speaking about the discussion in connection with the draft amendments, Koljgeci stressed that everyone has had an influence on the politicization and polarization of the masses, and in connection with the solidarity meetings the LC must seperate what is positive form what is

negative in these meetings. As regards differentiation, it has not yet been completed in the state organs and will last as long as the counterrevolution lasts. And if there is no confidence in the work of individual organs in Kosovo then, according to Koljgeci, their work should be analyzed.

From the recent speech by Ramiz Alia, which is known in detail to our public, we see that the two-track policy toward our country is being extended, Dobrivoje Vidic said. This policy provokes complete distrust in our country because on the one hand it is stated that Albania favors developing good-neighborly relations, as we too call them, as do the Bulgarian, Greeks, Turks and Romanians, but at the same time support is being extended to everything which in the SFRY as a whole. [passage omitted]

No one has the right in the SFRY Constitution to sign a capitulation, In line with this, what do the 8 years of the active duration of the counterrevolution of the Albanian separatists and genocidal nationalism mean, and where does it lead? People are asking this, and not only in Belgrade—Who is leading us to capitulate to the separatists, and also who gives the right for constitutional and legal means to be waived against the counterrevolution. And the fact is that they have been avoided and in large measure are still being avoided, Rados Smiljkovic said. [passage omitted]

We are witnesses to an escalation in Albanian nationalsim which manifests itself in physical and psychological pressures on citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, and which have been even more in evidence over the last few weeks and days, both in Kosovo and in Macedonia, and I believe that very quickly the same thing could be happening in Montenegro too. All of this is of course part of the plan of the irredentists and aims for a Greater Albania, Dusan Ckrebic said.

As a result it is quite normal that the Serbian LC must, in view of the situation and the further course of events, insist on the strict realization of the stances of the ninth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee and on its own stances which transpire from the ninth sesion, Dusan Ckrebic stressed. In this context I see the solidarity meetings as an expression of the democratic pressure of working people and citizens and expressions of dissatisfaction over the speed at which problems in society are being resolved. As a result, to proclaim the solidarty meetings as the basic political problem of today is, I believe, on the level of political superficiality in the approach to the serious social questions. This can only be a peculiar kind of swopping of theses, because the expression of solidarity today as a consequence, it is true, could tomorrow be a cause for something else, but as a result we must resolve things at the root, in other words remove the cause, Ckrebic said.

Of course one can ask what is expected of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, said Ckrebic. A repetition of the principle stances is of no use, nor does this resolve the current problems of society. Society expects decisive steps to be taken toward the great problems of our times. Above all the changes in the SFRY Constitution and the Serbian Constitution have a huge political, but also a stabilizing, significance. Opening a way in the political system for economic reform is one of the primary issues today, and as far as the Serbian Constitution is concerned what is important are changes which will ensure the constitutional functioning of the Republic of Serbia throughout its entire territory. These will be an essential contribution to overall stabilization.

The full involvement of subjective forces in realizing the proposals for economic reform is vital. We have no other way out than to enter into reform resolutely and without hesitation and for the whole of society to struggle in everyday life to create the essential preconditions for implementing economic reform, and not to flinch at difficulties. We have to implement reform in even more difficult conditions than was envisaged, because one must not forget that it also has an influence on economic trends stressed Ckrebic.

In the assessment of Zoran Pjanic there are Albanians who are romantically inclined, who would unite Kosovo and some other parts of Yugoslavia with Albania straight away. But among them there are also great nationalists, no less nationalist than the first category, who are far more rational—they argue that it is best to stay for as long as possible in Yugoslavia so that on the basis of the fund for the more rapid development of the insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo and the subsidies set aside for social activities they can gain resources for a somewhat more rapid development of the economy and social activities in Kosovo. There are also Albanians who are, without doubt, Yugoslav in their orientation. I start from the assumption, said Pjanic, that the leadership in Kosovo, as far as the Albanian nationality is concerned, is made up of this third group, but results are poor.

So this serves as a warning that the situation is exceptionally serious, that this last category of Albanians cannot change the environment, and this is essential if Serbs and Montenegrins, Turks, Romanies, Croats and Muslims are to feel free on that territory.

The great problem in Kosovo in Pjanic's opinion is the effect of the demographic bomb, which is destroying everything which we can accomplish. Even if all the Serbs and Montenegrins who have emigrated—even if there were 100,000 of them—were to return to Kosovo, with a birthrate such as this the relation between the nations would be the same in 4 of 5 years.

In connection with the assessment of the current constitutional discussion in Serbia, Pjanic recalled the statement by Mika Tripalo made in the seventies that Serbia

should be broken, but by breaking off both wings, both provinces. I have the impression, noted Pjanic, that what Mika Tripalo was proposing has actually been carried out. This does not mean that the autonomous provinces as they are today are the work of Mika Tripalo, but the similarity is there.

Let us unite. There is a folk proverb—If God wants to punish someone, first he takes away his reason. Let us be reasonable enough to agree on the basic things. If we do not succeed now or in the months to come in settling the economic, political and social situation, the people will chase us leading communists out.

So I support the proposals which have been given. For this reason I favor reaching an agreement on some basic things as soon as possible, so that we can overcome this factionalism which is present in the top political leadership of Yugoslavia, on the basis of reasonable discussions and by seeking the best solutions, and try finally to lead our country onto the path of more rapid development, so that we can catch up with Europe.

Noting the case of the village of Prekale, Radmilo Bogdanovich stressed that there the system was obviously functioning [as received] since the people themselves have taken up arms and are defending themselves. We have had talks there, unfortunately these were conducted separately with the Serbs and the Albanians. Why? Because for more than a year they have not been in contact with each other, because during a discussion about one excess they dispersed and the comrades present from the provincial leaderships made no contribution to discussing this in the proper way.

One of the Albanians laughed while a farmer was speaking about an attack on his own daughter and all the Serbs got up and walked out. He said, I am speaking about my own grief, and they are laughing. No one brought them together again. We promised them that we would reinforce the security organs and guarantee them security so that they could enroll their children in school. We must implement this, said Bogdanovich.

Reacting to certain discussions in which the need was pointed out for immediate changes in the leadership of the SAP of Kosovo (Zoran Janackovic, Sveta Bozic and some others spoke about this), Kacusa Jasari asked "Have we not been called here so that it can be pointed out to us that we are not capable of leading" and if this is the case, she added, then we should be told this explicitly—you are not suitable for those posts. [passage omitted]

As far as responsibility is concerned, it has an objective dimension, replied Slobodan Milosevic, presiding over the session. For the situation in any given environment, province, republic or work organization it is always the leadership which is most responsible. So there always exists an objective responsibility. If we bear in mind that for 8 years now, matters have not been resolved in Kosovo, as we have established this morning and, as Comrade Gracanin said in his speech, that the situation is getting worse, then it is clear that it is logical to put the question of where the objective responsibility lies for such a situation.

Milosevic added that the question of objective responsibility can always be asked about the situation in a republic, as far as the republic's leadership is concerned, and for the situation in Yugoslavia, as far as the Yugoslav leadership is concerned. In every democratic country and in every system this question of objective responsibility is put as a logical consequence of the authority which leaderships gain when they assume their posts. There is nothing contentious in this and there are no alterior motives in this and of course the question cannot be put personally about people who have been in their posts only since very recently and so who can show to what extent they are achieving these tasks only in the next few months. [passage omitted]

Following the discussion which lasted almost 16 hours and in which 40 speakers participated, Slobodan Milosevic made a closing speech on the first item of the agenday, "The Current Political and Security Situation in Kosovo."

There is no more pressing or more justified will, than the will of the working people and citizens and for this reason it is a basic task of the Serbian leadership to implement this will, said Slobodan Milosevic. Among other things, he stressed that the stance which assesses that gatherings by the people are unacceptable is simply not accurate, since such gatherings have always been a way of expressing the opinion of the people, and in the workers' movement we have been pround of that method.

It would be easier for everyone if the tasks were carried out through the institutions of the system. Of course we should not abandon the use of the institutions. On the contrary. Working people call on them to carry out their functions, they even call for a change in the Constitution which will enable these institutions to function more fully, said Slobodan Milosevic in his closing speech.

Continuing today's session the Presidium and the Presidency adopted stances in connection with the demand of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that LC organs should prevent protest gatherings and meetings of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo from being held. The stances were adopted following a short discussion by a majority of votes of members of both the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian Presidency. It was mainly the representatives of both provinces who were against the adoption of the stances.

Increases in Albanian Nationalist Activity

AU0309190088 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Pristina Television commentary]

[Excerpt] Recently, an intensification of the activity of Albanian nationalism has been observed in various parts of Kosovo. The forms it takes are as before, both as regards its perfidious methods and destructive aims. Pamphlets are being written and distributed issuing a call for war and bloodshed, and there has also been an escalation of aggression which has culminated in cruel physical assaults against members of other nationalities, principally Serbs and Montenegrins. The most recent incidents, as the public has been informed, took place in recent days in some parts of Pristina, Prizren, Djakovica, and other places. Particularly base, and in all cases hostile, were those who committed physical assaults and attempted rapes in Pristina and Gracanica. This reappearance on the scene of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, who have not by chance increased their activity since the high-level party meeting devoted to Kosovo and on the threshold of the constitutional debate, no doubt encumbers even further the general situation in Kosovo. As a consequence, the process of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration from Kosovo becomes exacerbated, as do other political and security aspects of the province. Every member of the Albanian nationality, or the overwhelming majority of them, young people, students, workers, and peasants, has realized afresh the need for a common life with members of other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Albanian Nationalists Leaflet Pristina

AU0609184388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 88 p 3

[M. Antic report: "Leaflets in Broad Daylight"]

[Text] Pristina, 1 Sep—In broad daylight and fearing nothing, the storm troopers of Albanian nationalism and separatism once again appeared distributing extremely hostile and unacceptable leaflets in some of the busiest streets in Pristina. They did this this morning and were afraid of nothing. As far as we know, about ten copies of these leaflets which were typed on A-4 size paper, have been discovered.

In many respects this leaflet is similar to the previous one which was distributed 1 month ago in Pristina and several places in Kosovo. Its ultimate aim is to provoke intranational conflict and prevent the forthcoming public discussion on the draft amendments to the Constitutions of the SR of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Like the previous one, this leaflet is not signed and begins with the resonant title "The Homeland Is Calling You" and ends with "Death to Fascism, Freedom to the People." Its first "element" is classic demagoguery and a skillfully invented introduction to the main call and aim. First of all, it reminds the Albanians in Yugoslavia that they also "fought against the 5-century rule of the Turkish empire" and that they, like all the Balkan peoples, achieved freedom.

In the second part, the leaflet deals with more specific matters. They warn those for whom the text is intended that during and after the National Liberation War and particularly with the decisions of the Bujan conference, the Albanian people in Yugoslavia "received the right to self-determination to the point of secession and the right to unite with Albania."

According to the writers and ideological creators of such a leaflet, which represents their "old tune," the main culprits for this right not having been realized are of course none other than the Serbian people. The leaflet says, "It is clear to everyone today that it has been the Serbs who have tortured and persecuted the Albanian people for years. Therefore, it is now clear what the Serbian politicians and others want."

In this context, the leaflet calls on the Albanian people "to avenge themselves because the homeland is calling."

There then follows a call which probably contains all their hatred for Yugoslavia and particularly for the Serbian people, all their nationalist nostalgia, and impatience for a fratricidal war to be waged and the foundations of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia to be destroyed. This is contained in the words, "There is no more time to wait."

This is probably not the final attempt by the greater Albanian nationalists and separatists since they have now seen that many things in the country are moving toward finding a solution to the long-term Kosovo drama and they have noticed the resoluteness of the LCY, the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo LC to finally cut through the Kosovo "Gordian Knot."

However, one should certainly count on the consciousness and resolution of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia who have so far rejected these and similar calls because, together with everyone in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, they have experienced at first hand all the evil that is borne by such a hostile and sinister force.

Mikulic Addresses Sarajevo SAWP 5 Sep

LD0609131088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—According to the statistics for the first 6 months, general and joint expenditure has been reduced to the envisaged levels, although with the help of the immobilization of profits, payments of gross personal incomes are within the legal frameworks, while there are indications of a slight increase in

savings in business activity and the percentage of reserves in the structure of working capital has been reduced by 4.6 points. The number of loss-making organizations of associated labor has been reduced by 748 and the number of workers in them by over 70,000. This was stated this evening by FEC President Branko Mikulic at the Sarajevo SAWP City Conference, where he was speaking about the causes of the Yugoslav economic crisis and the directions of the reform of the economic system.

Speaking about the current economic situation, the FEC president mentioned among positive results those which are being achieved in commodity exports, particularly to the convertible currency market, and the results in tourism. He also noted the significant increase in foreign currency earnings and the functioning of the foreign currency market. Mikulic said that all payments to other countries are being made regularly, and that foreign currency reserves have risen.

Continuing his speech, Branko Mikulic said that there has been no success in enlivening economic activity. Production continues to be below that of last year, while the portion of income remaining in the economy has gone down from 56.4 to 51.6 percent, accumulation is growing more slowly than all the more important categories of the balance structure (net income, net earnings for personal incomes, joint expenditure and the reserve fund), and the share of outstanding amounts in the structure of working capital is increasing. This year's drought caused great damage, particularly in the production of corn, soya, sunflowers, sugar beet, fruit, and vegetables, Mikulic said, so that instead of possible exports, which were thought to be certain after the record wheat yield, we will have to import, and also secure several hundred million dollars for this purpose. Particularly unfavorable are the trends on the market, because prices, or rather inflation, continue escalating.

Since the level of inflation in August is above the inflation target rate, opinions are being voiced that the limit of "programmed inflation" has been "breached." I will say again that we have not programmed the level of inflation. Rather the target rate was established as a marker toward which we are striving by balancing the relationship between supply and demand on the market, and not as a commitment to a prices policy, particularly not to control or price freezing, Branko Mikulic said.

Mikulic said that we will know in January next year if we have succeeded because the target rate of inflation is measured by the level of prices in December of this year compared to December of last year.

Price increases so far, the consequences of the catastrophic drought, and other indicators point to the conclusion that the target rate of inflation could be more significantly exceeded. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the growth in prices in the second half of last year was speeded up, so that the basis was greater than in the first half of the year. This means that at present it is difficult to make an accurate assessment of how large inflation will be this year, Branko Mikulic said.

Nevertheless, opinions are increasingly expressed and demands made for the FEC to give an estimate of how much inflation will be this year, as if this depended only on measures being taken by the FEC, and not on numerous factors over which the FEC has no influence, or practically no influence, Branko Mikulic said. For example, in conditions where 63 percent of all prices are being freely formed (and all of us without exception came out in favor of this), those manufacturers who freely but incorrectly and irresponsibly increase the prices of their products are causing the danger of breaking through the target rate of inflation. They are also endangering the real earnings of the population, or rather their purchasing power. That is why we must ask oursleves how long we can tolerate this and whether we can have so many of those organisations of associated labor which in the first half of the year caused 45 percent of all losses in the economy by paying out advances on personal incomes and joint expenditure in the basic organizations of associated labor without cover in the available net income.

The FEC president said that numerous conditions have been created for setting up production lines for which there would be payment generating demand on the foreign and domestic market. However, this is not proving successful. The economy is adapting slowly to the demands of the market, and production is stagnating and declining. For as long as the economy does not adapt and does not achieve an increase in production, for which there is a demand on the domestic and foreign markets, that is, for as long as an increase in real national income is not realized, we will have to apply the established limits of general and joint expenditure and personal incomes so that—by means of a realistic growth in income—uncovered demand would not continually raise inflation.

Nominal limits have been set so that they do not require a significant real reduction in expenditure if the target rate of inflation is achieved. The nominal limits of expenditure will come into force precisely when the target rate of inflation is exceeded. Their application reduces real earnings and payments generating demand, and thus a balance is maintained in commodity-fiscal relations and the pressure for price increases is reduced. Since there is no real income for greater expenditure, the eventual breaking of nominal limits would only pour oil on the fire and increase inflation, and we would then enter an even greater economic, social, and political crisis. This is why demands for the adjustment of the nominal limits of expenditure in conditions of stagnation in production and labor productivity are unacceptable, FEC President Branko Mikulic said.

Comrades in the Trade Union Federation council of Yugoslavia, the FEC president continued, are right when they express concern at the fact that personal incomes of workers in the majority of organizations of associated labor are low, and that the living standard of a significant proportion of the population is endangered. Regardless of the fact that we are faced with great problems in the nonbudget balance of the federation, it is acceptable to propose that a further reduction is made in import duties and taxes in order to facilitate greater imports of raw materials and semimanufactured goods and encourage production (supply) for the domestic and foreign market, as well as imports of consumer goods. Appropriate proposals are already being drawn up in the FEC.

However, Branko Mikulic continued, this does not exhaust all the possibilities. Let me recall that the minimal limit for the growth of personal incomes relates to gross personal incomes, so that any reduction in taxes and contributions from personal incomes creates conditions for an increase in net personal incomes. For years we have been talking about the revision of rights and institutions in the sphere of joint and general expenditure, that is, the rationalization of this expenditure and about the reduction of the so-called social overheads, the deferment of the construction of new hospitals, sports facilities, and so on. However, we are not succeeding in this. On the contrary, deposits from sociopolitical communities and self-managing communities of interests are increasing (according statistics of the National Bank of Yugoslavia by 77 percent on 30 June this year compared with December last year).

It is known, Branko Mikulic emphasized, that the Federation has not introduced, nor has it been empowered to introduce, a single form of taxation and contribution from income and personal earnings. This is decided in the republics, provinces, municipalities, and self-management interest communities for social activities. The sociopolitical communities should carry out the adopted policy of transferring an ever-increasing part of obligations concerning the financing of general and joint expenditure from the economy to the population—by taxing property and income from proporty, free professions, the owners of various workshops, agricultural producers, and others. I refer to numerous weekend houses. Many people constructed them with the help of credit. Since this credit was not revaluated, they made a profit. The credit users should not be reproached for this because the system existing at the time made this possible and encouraged it. Just as the obligations cannot be changed, so the profit made by the debtor cannot be taken away. However, it is possible to introduce a corresponding tax on weekend houses and thus achieve considerable income for the sociopolitical communities. This is within the competence of the republics, provinces, and municipalities and not the Federation, the FEC president stated.

Branko Mikulic also pointed out the great burden of expenditure carried by the economy due to interest rates, which is the result of the policy of commercial banks.

We have to clarify these questions, he emphasized, because it is necessary to raise the efficacy of the Yugoslav economy, to reduce production costs and to increase productivity. Without this it is not possible to enter economic competition on the world market, nor to achieve a dynamic development of society, and increased personal incomes and living standards.

Branko Mikulic also referred to the view that the law on associated labor should be abolished. He said that it is wrong to speak so easily and to make statements on the abolition of this law, because this law has regulated social property and self-management—which cannot be abolished. Whether we will introduce another law, Branko Mikulic said, to regulate the organization and self-management of the organizations of associated labor and the socio-economic relations, that is, the earning and distribution of income, the funds of self-managing enterprises, the relations governing social property, especially in conditions of using joint as well as private resources of our and foreign citizens, is another question. The same applies to the bases of the system of working relations. Instead of a new law on asasociated labor, this could be regulated by three or four special laws for rational and practical reasons. This is the question, and not the abolition of the law on associated labor, the FEC president pointed out.

Protest Banners Seen at Crvenka Rally

AU0709140788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 88 p 6

[Unattributed report: "What Was Written on Banners in Crvenka"]

[Text] The following slogans in all the languages of the peoples and nationalities covered the banners in the center of Crvenka during the solidarity meeting on Saturday: "Kosovo people, welcome," "Yugoslav flags in Kosovo," "Down with the followers of the albanian irredentists," "New Crvenka is small, but has not been given to Krunic and Tihomirovic," "Dolanc, Vrhovec, Vlasi, I went down your road and almost got lost," "The people are with you, Slobodan," "Where there is freedom—the fatherland is there," "Sloba, freedom," "Vrhovec—support to the counterrevolution," "Oxen suffer the yoke, and not people," "We have 27 peoples and nationalities among us," "Listen to the voice of the people," "No one can divide us," "And everywhere where there is a Serbian soul, there is my fatherland, my hearth, and my birthplace—a group from Savino Selo near Titov Vrbas," "We will not be divided, we will not emigrate," "So that all children go to school without fear," "Montenegro Serbian Sparta," and "The Albanian flag in Albania—the Yugoslav flag in Kosovo." The banner "Welcome, dear friends," was written in Hungarian, Ruthenian, and Slovak.

Slogans Heard at Sombor 3 Sep Meeting
AU0709141988 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Slogans in Sombor"]

[Text] During the meeting which was held on Saturday in Sombor and attended by about 2,000 workers of all the Sombor work organizations, those present interrupted the speakers by shouting their approval: "That is right" or by shouting longer slogans.

The first slogan to be heard was "Down with bureaucrats" which was followed by "Long live the worker class," "Long live the hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia," "Down with the irredentists," "Peace to our children," "We want Korosec to throw out all betrayers of Serbia and Yugoslavia from his community and the LCY," "We want a united Yugoslavia," "Long live our peoples and nationalities," "Kosovo is within us," "Long live brotherhood and unity," "For a united Serbia," "We do not want cheap people's bread [narodni hleb]," "We want changes," "We want the constitution to be the same for the whole of the SR of Serbia," "Down with those who are tearing us apart," "Down with the armchair politicians [foteljas]," "Long live the worker class of Yugoslavia and Sombor," "Long live brotherhood and unity," "We want a united Yugoslavia," "Down with those who mistreat the Serbian people in Kosovo," "The people will judge them," "Down with Vlasi, throw him out," and "Long live Yugoslavia."

Kosovo Official Warns of 'Fratricidal War'
AU0709184988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The Kosovo Assembly Commission for Constitutional Questions discussed the amendments to the province constitution today. Milivoje Mihailovic reports:

Stressing that pressure of separatist and unitarian forces has been avoided during the drafting of the amendments to the Constitution, Kurtes Salihu in his introductory speech stressed that all the chances of changing the status of the province have been excluded. The struggle against Albanian nationalism, he warned, cannot be won by changing the position of the sociopolitical community.

Salihu said that the anti-communist forces belittle the constitutional changes and advocate a return to a firm hand policy and hegemony. He asserted that this leads to a fratricidal war. Under the pretext that changes will pull us out of the crisis, these forces are succeeding in mobilizing a part of the people's masses, Kurtes Salihu said.

The discussion showed, however, that the introductory speaker was understood in different ways. Rade Zvicer requested that the commission should dissociate itself from a a portion of the introductory speech, because Salihu alluded to the rallies of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and assessed them in a way opposite to the LC. Muharrem Ymeri, Nike Lumezi, Xhevdet Beqiri, and Shefqet Mustafa were against Zvicer's proposal that the commission should dissociate itself from a portion of the introductory speech.

Constitutional changes to suit man were demanded, for in this way one would shed the burden of the past that led to the Kosovo divisions, migrations, and the counterrevolution. The warning was sounded that on account of some other strategy, or alleged national interests, one cannot block the changes that are a condition for getting out of the crisis.

Vukasin Johanovic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, pointed out that it should be clearly said during the public discussion that the constitutional changes will not deprive the Albanians of their present rights nor Kosovo of its autonomy. Such a thesis is propounded by the enemies as a seed of dissension, and it is also propounded by some Kosovo cadres protecting national interests.

There were also disagreements about the links between the counterrevolution in 1981 and the 1974 Constitution. Ljuba Popovic believed that the excessive isolation of Kosovo made possible by the Constitution offered great hope to the separatist dreams about the Kosovo Republic, and this culminated in 1981.

The majority of those taking part in the discussion was of the opinion that there is no need to discuss this subject. It is expected that the Kosovo Assembly will discuss the changes in the Kosovo Constitution toward the end of this month.

Nationalities Meeting To Be Held 15 Sep
LD0809182588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Sremska Mitrovica, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—The presidium of the SAWP municipal conference and the trade union federation council decided today that a meeting of brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Sremska Mitrovica will be held on Thursday, 15 September at 1700.

This decision was made on the basis of the proposal and desires of the workers and citizens of Sremska Mitrovica. The meeting will be held to show support for the LCY Central Committee and its adherence to the principled party policy established at the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee. At this large-scale political meeting, which is intended to take place in a dignified and democratic atmosphere, there will be discussion of the greatest Yugoslav problem, the drama of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo, and topical social, economic, and political issues.

A special committee has been formed to organize the meeting of brotherhood and unity in Sremska Mitrovica.

Kosovo Serbs Decide To Rally in Jajce
AU0809192088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Milivoje Mihailovic report from Pristina]

[Text] We have just been informed from Pristina that the Organizational Committee for Solidarity Meetings of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins has decided that Kosovo people will go to a protest meeting in Jajce. Milivoje Mihailovic reports from Pristina:

The Organizational Committee for Arranging the Participation of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins has decided that the Kosovo people will go to the protest meeting in Jajce on 17 September, and further on to Sarajevo, Sipovo, and other places. On the next day, 18 September, the announcement by the so-called Kosovo Polje Committee says, a delegation will be sent to Niksic to the solidarity meeting convened there.

The announcement says that the committee decided on this step because it found itself criticized by the people because it accepted the decision by the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership and postponed the march of Kosovo people to Jajce. It is said that dozens of Serbs and Montenegrins who gathered in Kosovo Polje last night demanded a replacement of the committee because it postponed the trip to Jajce.

Another reason for going to Bosnia-Hercegovina is the fact that the committee is receiving hundreds of invitations by veterans, working people, and youths, members of all the peoples, especially the Muslims, who feel insulted by the assertion that single-nationality gathering will occur in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The committee also decided that the Kosovo people should go to meetings in Medvedja and Lebane on 10 September. The announcement says that the committee supported numerous requests by Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo that, unless a firm change is made at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee and all the named leaders are replaced, a collective emigration from Kosovo will be launched at the end of this month. It is planned that the Serbs and Montenegrins would go to Belgrade, and they would leave their houses, their farms, and their jobs to society.

Vucitrn Protest Meeting Attended by 3,000
AU0809201988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Report by Milisav Milic from Kosovo]

[Text] A protest meeting of about 3,000 Serbs and Montenegrins was held in Vucitrn this evening. The reason for the meeting was the recent attack by two Albanians on Jevresima Kosanovic and her daughter. (Dragisa Murgeric), president of the Vucitrn Communal Assembly, addressed the people gathered at the protest rally. He said that prosecution organs will (?finally) stop the Albanian terrorists running wild: they do not leave in peace frail mothers, innocent children, or even historic monuments and Serbian graves.

From an improvised rostrum, speakers he demanded that those who are responsible for the tragedy in the seat of the first Serbian state should be criminally prosecuted. The following names were named: Petar Stambolic, Dragoslav Markovic, Milos Minic, Tihomir Vlaskalic, Fadilj Hodza, and the so-called Djakovica Line.

Bitter words were said about the present high Kosovo leaders, especially about Kolj Siroka who is considered one of those most responsible for the continuation of the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

The people at the protest meeting in Vucitrn chanted: We Shall Not Emigrate. Dramatic calls were addressed to Slobodan Milosevic.

About 1,000 Albanians watched the protest meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins from a distance of a few meters.

Presevo Factory Workers Strage Strike
LD0909195388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Presevo, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—Some 200 workers at the Zajecar glass factory "Kristal," in Presevo, this morning stopped work because they had not been paid for July and August. The workers demand that their personal incomes be increased by 100 percent. In the first 6 months of this year, the average personal income amounted to 165,000 dinars a month. The workers were offered a 50 percent increase, but they rejected the offer and said they would stay on strike until their demand was met.

Presevo Glass Factory Workers Go On Strike
LD0909195388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Presevo, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—Some 200 workers at the Zajecar glass factory "Kristal," in Presevo, this morning stopped work because they had not been paid for July and August. The workers demand that their personal incomes be increased by 100 percent. In the first 6 months of this year, the average personal income amounted to 165,000 dinars a month. The workers were offered a 50 percent increase, but they rejected the offer and said they would stay on strike until their demand was met.

Teachers End Strike; Tuition To Be 'Improved'
LD0909143288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Doboj, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—At a session of the conference of the trade unions of the associated primary school in Doboj, educational workers today adopted a decision to end their 5-day work stoppage and begin regular teaching on Monday, 12 September. This decision was made by 540 workers from 10 primary schools in this commune, after the departure of their trade union representatives to the assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and assurances that the material position of teachers and the standard of tuition would be improved in the period ahead. Ten thousand five hundred pupils will make up the classes they missed by having lessons every last Saturday of the month until the end of the first half of the year.

Sinj Factory Workers Strike Over Pay
LD1009110788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0857 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Summary] Sinj, 10 Sep (TANJUG)—A strike at the Dalmatinka factory in Sinj is in its 2d day. Workers are calling for a 50-percent increase in wages, but according to management the factory can only offer 25 percent. The factory, employing 2,700 workers, is the largest producer of sewing thread in Yugoslavia.

More Than 10,000 at Medvedja Solidarity Meeting
LD1009150888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Medvedja, 10 Sep (TANJUG)—More than 10,000 Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians and members of other nations and nationalities attended a meeting of solidarity today, which was held in multinational Medvedja in the south Morava region. In addition to the citizens of this region, the meeting was also attended by more than a 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Pristina, Urosevac, Lipljan, Kosovo Polje and other places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The meeting was first addressed by Zivko Kulic, president of the organizational commtitee for the holding of solidarity meetings, and then by Nazmi Jasari, president of the SAWP municipal conference in Medvedja; Milivoje Milojkovic, president of the SUBNOR municipal committee; and Mladen Bozovic, president of the municipal assembly in Medvedja. The meeting took place in a dignified manner and heard very sharp condemnation of the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo. We must put an end to this evil, energetically and without delay, it was said, in the interests of brotherhood and unity and the stability of the Yugoslav community.

20,000 Attend Lebane Solidarity Meeting
LD1009183088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Summary] Lebane, 10 Sep (TANJUG)—A meeting of brotherhood, unity, and solidarity was held in Lebane this afternoon attended by about 20,000 people from this region, as well as over 1,000 people from Kosovo. The speakers at the meeting included Stojan Pesic, president of the Lebane SAWP municipal conference; Cedomir Pesic, president of the Lebane Federation of Veterans Associations of Yugoslavia municipal board; and Dragutin Milanovic from Kosovo Polje, who addressed the participants on behalf of people from Kosovo. A message, addressed to all Albanian nationalists and separatists, was read at the meeting saying that none of their crimes, such as attacks on women and children, desecration of monuments, etc, would break the strength and morale of the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo, who must be secured freedom, peace, and a dignified life in their ancestors' homeland.

Solidarity Meeting Held Near Leskovac
AU1209154888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Milenko Stojanovic reports that a people's meeting of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo has been held in the village of Pecenjevce, not far from Leskovac. About 5,000 citizens attended the meeting. The first person to speak was Gojko Velickovic, on behalf of the town:

[Begin Velickovic recording] The times have passed when musings from closed offices, agreements, and compromises established the fate of the people. In this way the ability of the people to implement proposed and adopted solutions was assessed. The people do not want to be presented with democracy and its achievements because they have struggled for these in the revolution, with the LC at their head. However, in the same way, the people find it difficult to comprehend that individuals in its leadership who have sworn by brotherhood and unity and equality for years, do not permit their people and nationalities to express an opinion on democracy, constitutional changes, and on their successes as leaders. [end Velickovic recording]

Milutin Ristic spoke on behalf of the veterans organization of the Leskovac region and said among other things:

[Begin Ristic recording] The veterans, working people, and citizens of Leskovac and the surrounding area give their full and unreserved support to the stands and conclusions of the recently held joint session of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee which perceived the situation in Kosovo in the right way, critically assessed the non-implementation of the programs and conclusions that have been adopted so far, and pointed out the

right ways of solving all the problems in Kosovo, particularly the protection of Serbs and Montenegrins who are threatened by Albanian nationalists and separatists, through the strengthening of the security forces in the endangered areas of Kosovo. [applause and cheering]

Working people and citizens of our region see Slobodan Milosevic, Petar Gracanin, Bogdan Trifunovic, Borisav Jovic, and others, as decisive and proven fighters and demand that they persist in their actions until the end for a better and safer future and quicker progress and development of the whole of Tito's Yugoslavia in the spirit [clapping and cheering] and the principles of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions for whose creation 1,700,000 lives were given during the (?Second) World War and the socialist revolution. [end Ristic recording]

FEC Protects Against Gasoline Price Increase

LD0909215488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2109 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—In view of the new exchange rates between the dinar and dollar and the dollar price of imported oil, it was necessary to increase the refinery prices of oil derivatives, domestic oil, and methane gas. However, to prevent an increase in the retail prices of derivatives as a result of increased refinery prices for oil and diesel fuel and transport costs, the FEC, in agreement with the competent republican and provincial organs, has decided to reduce the existing rate of basic tax on turnover. In this way, the federal secretariat for information communicates, the retail prices of petrol and diesel fuel remain at the present le el.

However, in spite of the reduced rate of tax on turnover, the retail prices for domestic and industrial fuel oil and crude oil have been increased by an average 11.4 percent. The retail prices for other oil derivatives used in reproduction have been increased by 17.1 percent, because no basic tax on turnover is payable on these products and therefore it could not be reduced.

By this decision of the FEC; that is, by reducing the basic tax on turnover and correcting refinery prices and by retaining the present retail prices of petrol and diesel fuel, the economic position of the oil refineries has been further improved. The inflationary effect on retail prices in September has also been minimized.

Montenegrin Daily on Protest Rallies

AU1009172788 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 88 p 1

[Vidoje Konatar commentary: "Perhaps a Fin.' Test"]

[Text] In contrast to dozens of past summers, this hot political summer in our country will be remembered for many things, but above all for radicalization and dramatization on the one hand, and on the other hand for delays and dilutions in the realization of party stances and the solving of numerous vital problems. Just to remind you: Despite the FEC promise, the target inflation rate has been much exceeded, the fall in the standard of living is more and more obvious, the lines in front of the shops selling people's bread are increasingly longer.... In addition, the tide of nationalisms of various colors is rising; calls of "We want arms" are being increasingly heard; children whose "fault" is that they speak a different language are beaten up; the Yugoslav People's Army is under attack.... Despite the clear stances and assessments, the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, the name-calling of certain federal and republican-provincial leaders does not diminish, and national and ethnic principles, rather than class, self-managing, and common principles, in many respects offer a sort of escape on the public scene.

Protest meetings of solidarity, and the formation of an indeed informal Committee of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo organizing them, are certainly also a phenomenon of this summer. One can certainly not close one's eyes to the actual drama that the Serbs and Montenegrins, and non-Albanian people in that province, are experiencing; one cannot close one's eyes to their justified demands that a final blow be dealt to Albanian separatism and nationalism, but also not to unacceptable slogans and calls, and the showing of national caps and shaggy beards....

Let us also recall that the LCY Conference was held 3 months ago, and it was said to have imparted a strong impulse to comprehensive party and political work, and the involvement of the LC members and working people and citizens in the implementation of three reforms that signify life: economic, political, and party. On many occasions it was pointed out from the conference rostrums that we possess the strength to pull away from great weaknesses and great mistakes, that the LC is capable of providing solutions, and that it is for its leaderships, especially the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, to make the move. It was then concluded that the extension of the leaderships' term of office depends on the success of the reforms.

It was not necessary to wait for the ink on the stances to dry properly before unprincipled, anti-democratic, and even destructive name-calling and label-slinging began against individuals in the leaderships of Serbia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo. Although the stances and the assessments of the LCY Central Committee Presidium sharply denounced this and virtually ordered that such practice should cease, the confrontations continue to this day. One rightly asks the question: Where does this lead? With the intention to cool down the overheated political atmosphere, the LCY Central Committee at its 16th session set up a working group formed of prominent members of that body that should provide an answer to the question of responsibility of individual LCY Central Committee members or of its Presidium. If one knows that Point 2, Section 5 of the LCY Central Committee Conclusions designated the Presidium for this task, even

this decision displays unreadiness, and even great differences in the ranks of the highest party organ which led to the "hot soup" or rather the buck to be passed on somebody else. The stake is excessive; it is a question of how to carry on: Following the principles and the statute, and respecting democratic centralism, since otherwise opportunism—the practice of everybody acting in his own way—will lead to a state of impotence and collapse and to a complete federalization of the LCY.

A serious question is posed: Are the stances of the LCY Conference not melting away instead of being realized? Will not the political fall be characterized, in addition to the Kosovo drama, by dangers of a social explosion, and by dissatisfaction because certain provisions endorsed in the public discussion have not been accepted in the work on the changes in the SFRY Constitution, and no clear explanations have been offered? In such a situation it is difficult to speak about a reform of society without urgent changes in behavior, without drawing a line between what is democratic and what is a misuse, and between responsibility and lack of responsibility. This certainly cannot be solved with appeals, in forums, and sitting in offices. On the contrary, in this way the situation gets worse and worse, and radical concepts and nationalist and religious passions are encouraged...

The increasingly frequent boos and protests at public gatherings are certainly not addressed only to the speakers but also to official policy, or rather the nonimplementation of what has been concluded and agreed upon. The question arises: As heated as the discussions may be, may the leaderships stand aside from the people's gatherings in connection with the Kosovo situation and with other matters? Is this not being exploited not only by nationalist but also anti-communist forces for advancing their ideas and projects which promise nothing good to self-managing AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia?

The situation is excessively unlike a peace situation, and the leaderships cannot behave comfortably and sluggishly, reacting slowly to numerous differences, confrontations, suspicions.... One can no longer accept each and every assessment as an argument without paying attention to the facts. One should also provide an answer—and this is expected of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium—to the questions: What do gatherings, meetings, and public statement to the effect, my republic is a state and Yugoslavia is my motherland mean? Is this democratic criticism of the system, or opposition which should be feared, particularly since this phenomenon is regarded from eight angles which often differ? The leadership, especially the Yugoslav leadership, the party leadership, is undergoing a great test, and perhaps it is a final test. It will be difficult to wage more resolutely the battle for the three reforms that should mark a way out of the crisis of many years, if "all wolves are to be satiated and no sheep to be missing." Differentiation at the top, as the LCY Conference delegates demanded, is more than necessary, so that the state of an equilibrium of impotence may be overcome or the danger of the underwater cliff—called the destruction of the basic party condition of viability, democratic centralism—may be avoided.

BORBA Reports on Slovene 'Vulgar Attacks'

AU0809125288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Sep 88 p 6

[R. Mincic report: "Doves With Hawk Feathers"]

[Text] Bohinj, 26 Aug—The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights from Ljubljana has prepared several statements for the participants in an international conference who are supporters of a civilian alternative to military service. Although the conference itself was announced as an exchange of the opinions and experience of various peace movements, these statements were obviously used to spread propaganda and untruths about our country. It could even be said that certain ideas in these statements represent one of the most vulgar attacks on the social order of Yugoslavia, the LCY, the political structures, and particularly the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] which is otherwise often subjected to attacks from the ranks of peacelovers.

The first statement, entitled "To the International Public" explains how at the beginning of 1988 the criticism of military policy which was voiced by the democratic public opinion in Slovenia was described as an organized counterrevolution by the highest military organs in the country. It explains further that since then the military organs have taken various unconstitutional measures which received the support of a large number of political experts in all the Yugoslav republics. Along with the arrest of the four journalists and publicists, there is evidence to show that Slovene soldiers in the YPA have been subjected to intensive "security measures." It is concluded that these recent events should be interpreted as an attempt by the conservative and Stalinist forces in Yugoslavia to stop the process of democratization in Slovenia through all possible means.

There Is No National Problem.... [subhead]

The Ljubljana trial against the aforementioned four men should have prepared the way for eliminating some of the most liberal politicians in Slovenia, mainly those who have opposed the so-called Amendment 31 to the Yugoslav Constitution through which the YPA is requesting full financial independence.

It says at the end of this statement that there are only two possible obstacles to hindering liberalization in Slovenia and they are national and international public opinion because the latter can consider and influence the political and economic games which in a centralized state are dictated by the undeveloped parts of the country. The was created as a product of agreements among Communists and since then they have never checked its legitimacy in free elections.

It says further that there is in fact no national problem in Yugoslavia, but there is a problem of the sovereignty of the citizens being taken away and a problem of the suspension of human rights, because the party-military authorities are superior in relation to the institutions of the civilian society, for example, the Assembly. Then the thesis is presented that nationalism and proletarian internationalism are in fact complementary and that internationalism even creates nationalism.

It is concluded that the superiority of the dogmatic military-party dictatorship and its logic over the civilian society and the democratic forces in Yugoslavia is probably fatal for the country. In any case, they claim, this is only the beginning of a new era of Yugoslav self-managing socialism and it is obvious that we will be witnesses to processes that will be very similar to those in Slovenia.

Attention was particularly drawn to the publication printed like the previous two statements in English and entitled "Independent Voices of Slovenia."

On the first page it is written that this is the third edition and was published in July this year. A call from the Committee for Human Rights to the international public is published on about 20 pages and then several articles about the arrests of Borstner, Jansa, Tasic, and Zavrl in Ljubljana, quotes from messages of solidarity that the Slovenes received from various international peace organizations, and the history of the political development of Slovenia since before the Second World War (written in French)....

"Secrets of an Unprotected Europe" [subhead]

The tone of the whole publication can perhaps be best seen in the articles by Slavoje Zizek, Why the Authorities Need Excesses, and Spomenka Hribar, The Secrets of an Unprotected Europe. The first explains that the authorities provoke excessive behavior so that they can say that public order and security are threatened and to announce some kind of state of emergency which gives them the institutional legitimacy to suppress the democratic energy which has until now penetrated all strata of Slovene society.

Zizek reminds us further that "one should not forget for one moment that in the currently electrified atmosphere, the democratic public in fact represents law and order, public peace, and security" and the possibility of a rational solution to conflicts and that the supporters of real socialist totalitarianism who are in power, act in a subversive way.

Spomenka Hribar defines the role of the army in our society in such a way as to say that its job is to defend the only party in power from its own dissatisfied population. She links the arrest of Ivan Borstner with the fact that he left the LCY about 1 year ago. She concludes that if the logic of military repression is continued then all democratic processes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia will completely fail. This would not only have serious implications for Slovenia and Yugoslavia but also for Europe because it would most probably lead to the Lebanonization of this country.

In reply to the question of how this publication is distributed (it is published by the working group for the peace movement within the Slovene youth federation and the Committee for Human Rights) Marko Hren, editor and member of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation did not want to say anything.

Slovene Presidency Answers Human Rights Body

AU0609155588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 88 p 6

[TANJUG report: "The SFRY Presidency Assesses the Constitutionality and Legality of the Military Document"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Sep—The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia is not responsible for ensuring and assessing the constitutionality and legality of the military document which prompted the criminal trial in the Ljubljana Military Court. "This document is an act of the military command," says the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia in its reply to the Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, which demanded at the end of July that the republican presidency check the legality and constitutionality of the contents of the military document which had been photocopied without authorization.

"According to the SFRY Constitution, the plan for the use of military forces in the event of war and for the use of Armed Forces in peacetime, is determined by the SFRY Presidency which, in line with the federal law, also regulates measures for preparing the Armed Forces and decides on putting the Armed Forces or a part of them on a state of alert," stresses the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia in its reply to the committee.

"Although certain questions of the leadership and command of the Armed Forces may be transferred to the federal secretary for national defense, the SFRY Presidency is, according to the Constitution, the supreme commander of the Armed Forces and is therefore responsible for assessing the legality and constitutionality of the aforementioned document," concluded the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia in its reply.

Slovene Human Rights Body's Views Rejected

AU0709103888 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 88 p 15

[TANJUG report: "Decisively Rejected Assessments of the Committee Concerning the Work of the Presidency of Slovenia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Sep—In analyzing the latest public statement by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia has

decisively rejected the approach and the assessments which relate to the work of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia. As stated in the announcement after its session, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia has decided to inform the delegates of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia of its opinion of the Committee's proposals and stances.

The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia Insisted That Legality and Openness in the Proceedings Be Respected at the Trial of Borstner and the Others [subhead]

"From the very beginning of the action against Borstner and the others, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia has met its political responsibility in its attitude toward the whole situation connected with the criminal proceedings before the Ljubljana Military Court. It accepted with full understanding the concern of working people and citizens about whether legality would be respected in this criminal action. In its assessments and conduct it has also considered the initiatives of certain working people and citizens and groups and organizations including the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights. On several occasions it contacted the SFRY Presidency and demanded that, considering its constitutional authority and as the highest organ of the leadership and command of the Armed Forces, it ensure that the legality and constitutionality in the criminal trial be consistently respected and the public were informed of this.

In line with such an interpretation of its role, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia stated the following in its letter to the SFRY Presidency of the 8 June this year: "The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia follows directly and through the Republican Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order events in the SR of Slovenia and particularly the course of the investigative proceedings against the three suspects. In connection with this, it totally respects the independence of the courts in their work and advocates that legality and openness in all the proceedings be respected. It advocates that these proceedings be held correctly and be concluded as soon as possible because this is in the interests of the actual investigation, as well as the consolidation of the political situation."

It then says in the announcement that "assessing the security-political situation in the SR of Slovenia, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia in its session on 14 July this year concluded that after the final trial a complete analytical, critical legal-specialist, and political analysis should be prepared which would not only answer the questions of the legality of the trial with regard to the rights of the accused, but also explain all the circumstances in which the trial came about and in which it was held.

"The Presidency informed the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia of its conclusion and also supported the decision of the Assembly and the organs of the sociopolitical organizations to jointly prepare such an analysis. The Presidency advocates that these questions be considered in a way which would not mean an illegal involvement in the criminal proceedings which have not yet ended and in a way which would not cause tensions which would not help matters but would threaten the continuation of the democratic processes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia."

It then states in the announcement that "in its statement the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights wrongly interpreted the reply in which the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia rejected its demand that the constitutionality and legality of the military document which led to the trial be immediately checked. The Presidency did not declare itself authorized to reply in detail to that question, but only confirmed that it is not directly responsible for establishing and assessing the constitutionality and legality of the aforementioned document."

The Latest Demands of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights Damage the Affirmation of the Interests of Slovenia [subhead]

"The Presidency is convinced that a complete political assessment of the circumstances in which the trial took place is not possible without a thorough and lawful analysis of this document and the authority for its issue. In line with its constitutional role, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia in cooperation with the SFRY Presidency will strive to include in its complete political analysis answers to questions which are under the jurisdiction of the SFRY Presidency. The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia will continue to inform the delegates of the republican assembly and the public of its stances and assessments which will contain all significant circumstances and causes and consequences of the social situation in which the trial took place," says the statement.

It goes on to state that "the present general sociopolitical situation and not just the economic situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia is confused and heightened and therefore, everyone who is actively involved in public political life must take responsibility for their political action. With its latest demands, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights is forcing the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia and the republican assembly into a conflict which will not help the affirmation of the interests of the SR of Slovenia, the Slovene people, and other working people in Slovenia, the make-up of intranational relations, and the development of socialism in the whole of Yugoslavia and cannot help the interests of the accused either. Imposing the Committee's assessments, views, and demands on the delegates of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, and the Slovene public is unacceptable and at variance with the resolution of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia to affirm the democratic direction of social development which was supported by the Slovene LC conference," concluded the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia in its statement.

Serbian TU Official on 'Incapable Leadership'

AU0809164988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Aleksandar Ljubicic report]

[Text] The Serbian Trade Union Presidium fully accepts the assessment that meetings, as a form of pressure on the leaders to make them implement their decisions, may end only when the causes of the gatherings are eliminated, and in particular when the counterrevolution is eliminated in Kosovo. This statement was made by Tomislav Milenkovic, president of the Serbian Trade Union Presidium. Aleksandar Ljubicic reports on the Presidium session:

The workers class sees in these meetings a logical aspect of the struggle, since all the forms of political activities and the most responsible leaders of society have failed, Milorad Vujasinovic, secretary of the Belgrade City Trade Union Council, said.

[Begin Vujasinovic recording] We in Belgrade take a clear position regarding the rallies. The working people of Belgrade—which is to say 650,000 employed people—demand that until irredentism is stopped, until it is eliminated, the working people must say what troubles they have, and in addition, until the incapable leadership that lacks even the understanding, let alone strength, to resolve the problems in Kosovo, stays, rallies will be held. Therefore, we cannot understand the position of certain circles who assess these rallies as gathering on a national basis, which is not true.

We will go to the solidarity rally, the solidarity meeting, or the brotherhood and unity meeting [in Belgrade]. There is no power in the land that can prevent us unless the problem of Kosovo is solved. And another thing: The Belgrade Trade Union Council supports the conclusions of the LC City Committee that an extraordinary LCY Congress be held, for only such a congress can remove the incapable leadership that has brought the country to chaos and bring proper capable people to office.

And another thing about yesterday's session of the Yugoslav Veterans Federation: I think that it once again displayed disunity. It also displayed another thing: that the LCY Central Committee, or more precisely, the Central Committee Presidium, protecting Petar Matic protects itself and its own lack of responsible work, but it found it opportune to send a telegram and to criticize Comrade Dusan Pekic who presented the proper views in the Croatian Veterans Federation. I am convinced that over 90 percent of working people and citizens stand behind what Comrade Pekic said [words indistinct].

And another thing I want to say: Individuals at all meetings talk about aid to Kosovo. I think that these people prefer a handful of freedom to a handful of flour. [end recording]

Commentary Views Draft Constitutional Amendments

AU0709154888 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2563 25 Aug 88 p 2

[M. Drecun commentary: "Changes To Lead to the Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] The great interest and commitment of the working people and citizens, as well as of the respective institutions, in the constitutional changes indicates that nobody in Yugoslavia should remain uninvolved in that which leads us out of crisis, to more stable development, and to more humane life worthy of man.

After the preparation of the draft amendments and a public discussion lasting several months, the constitutional changes are now entering the stage in which the proposed amendments will be drafted.

The Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly has agreed upon the text of 33 proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution. There remain 11 amendments that have been accepted with reserve. In contrast to the 1974 Constitution, whose adoption was based on a high level of agreement and ideopolitical unity, thanks above all to the compact and homogeneous LCY, the republican and provincial differences are now one of the chief causes of the painstaking work on the constitutional amendments.

The proposed changes in the sphere of the socioeconomic system have not caused greater differences in stands. The only question that has been left uncoordinated is the one on the maximum land holding which, according to the draft amendments, can total 30 hectares per farmer. Other issues, such as the problem of social property holders [nosilac drustvenog vlasnistva], the question of foreign investments in the domestic economy, the right to strike, and a guaranteed work place for those fired because of redundancy due to technological reasons [tehnoloski visak] were given the "green light" without greater difficulties.

In contrast to the economic system, the political system showed itself to be considerably more "difficult."

Changes in the political system, although they are not so radical as the ones in the socioeconomic sphere, are being influenced by various attitudes. Several proposals made in the public debate, such as the proposal to abolish presidencies of republics and provinces, to give foreign citizens the right to vote, to enable some enterprises in certain regions to carry out their economic operations under conditions that are not exactly in conformity with the Constitution, and the like, have been postponed until the "next stage." Attention was attracted by proposals on abolishing sociopolitical chambers, on direct elections and the secret vote, and on publicity and responsibility connected with work. Other questions that have been left open include the one on

introducing the obligation to propose several candidates for all executive posts, the method of electing and appointing members of the SFRY Presidency, the jurisdiction of the Federal Court, and joint foundations of taxation policy. The proposal to expand the jurisdiction of the federal public prosecutor was given up.

Contrary to the expectations of the public and demands for a united and strong federation, the work on the amendments regulating relations in the federation has been the most sensitive one and has left a large number of questions uncoordinated. The reason for this is above all in republican and provincial divisions and in the fact that leaderships are enclosing themselves in their own regions without having any responsibility for the development of both their republic and Yugoslavia in general.

Another one of the uncoordinated questions is the provision according to which a federal law prevails over a republican one when they contradict each other until the Constitutional Court makes a decision. Here the question is: What would be left of the Federation if some republican laws have precedence over federal ones in case of a contradiction? In this stage of changes, the question of the relations between the SR of Serbia and the provinces is only partly solved. The realization of international cooperation of republics and provinces, the judiciary, security, and defense need further coordination. There are also some differences concerning decisionmaking and the structure of the SFRY Assembly, as well as the introduction of the chamber of associated labor in the assembly system.

The remaining differences are still not of such a kind that amendments to the SFRY Constitution cannot be adopted by the set deadline—29 November. The need for more radical changes, finding the way out of the crisis, and the return to the founding principle of our revolution and the existence of Yugoslavia—brotherhood and unity—are reasons for which there must not be a constitutional blockade. There is no time for haggling.

Dizdarevic Speaks at Zagreb Grand Fair

LD1109151088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0809 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—This year's grand fair is being held in really complex conditions, when we are contemplating those radical moves which represent the only correct and permanent way out of the economic crisis and a well-grounded path toward economic prosperity, said Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, opening the Zagreb autumn grand fair. We see this way out being achieved through all-embracing changes in the economic system and in development policy—in an economic reform. We have no alternative but to go this way and to use all our strength to achieve this goal. There is no going back or retreating from the course of the reform. This would deavlue everything we have achieved so far. And we have achieved a great deal. There is an impressive display of all this here every year, regardless of how much we appreciate it. And we should not forget, but rather preserve all the things we have done well, said Dizdarevic.

For this reason the grand fair does not describe for us just what has been done up to now. Traditionally very important, it should show our readiness to implement the economic reform in all its fundamental aspects, especially the unhindered functioning of economic forces and laws, market economy and behavior, and the broader opening up and integration of our economy with the world. It will be a part of our efforts to implement the reform without delay in keeping with all the activities and arrangements organized at this fair.

Raif Dizdarevic stressed that this event manifests the unity and interdependence of life and the development of the Yugoslav economy.

The economic reform, which depends on full observance of market forces, will ensure conditions for the free integration of economic subjects on the whole of Yugoslav territory and, on the basis of economic interests and market logic, for destroying all artificial barriers and partial attitudes which have impeded our development and pushed us backwards in many respects. In this way, and not through empty appeals, we will open up prospects for the development and consolidation of a uniform Yugoslav Market. The developed uniform market is a firm foundation of our community and a sure condition for overcoming political phenomena which threaten this uniformity more easily.

Dwelling in particular on some of the issues facing us at this moment, the president of the SFRY Presidency, said, firstly, that each country seeking a way out of crisis has mobilized all its forces for work and creativity and directed all its potential toward this aim, turned toward economic logic and above all economic motivation, and made use of the best world achievements. Only in this way can our country overcome the crisis which has lasted for too long. Let us ask ourselves whether we are doing this. Is our social energy being directed and emancipated in this way? A response should be given by changing our behavior, concentrating all our forces, emancipating and involving all the creative potential toward embarking on the course of economic reform, and by economic motivation in every field of work and creativity.

According to Dizdarevic, the creation of a favorable political and general social climate is especially important for the successful implementation of the economic reform. Unfortunately, many still do not understand or want to do anything about this. This fact and behavior contrary to this great need, whatever the origin, threaten the economic reform and prevent unity of action of everyone in Yugoslavia as a whole. And without the unity of commitment and responsibility of everyone for its realization, this big initiative cannot be consistently

followed. Of course, at the same time this means resolving more quickly those political problems which undermine our ability to concentrate on the economic reform. The stabilization of the situation in Kosovo is the most urgent task and responsibility of the entire country.

The SFRY Presidednсy is continually stressing that the fundamental prerequisite for the economic reform is the halting and curbing of inflation. At this moment this involves defending the course of the economic reform, because the unbridled rise in inflation and the consequences of this most seriously threaten the reform, encouraging all the tendencies of opposition to the reform. The Presidency has on several occasions pointed out that the vital importance of this goal—halting and curbing inflation—is not understood by everyone in the same way and that we are not all investing the same amount of effort. Involvement and influence on the market in this direction must be continually exercised by means of timely and efficient economic measures which are implemented by all the levels of society, in the organs of the federation, republics and provinces and municipalities.

The Presidency has also continually drawn attention in all organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities to the need for introducing and effectively implementing programs of social measures to overcome those consequences and difficulties in some organizations which must be eliminated in the first stage of the reform and which threaten the living standard of working people.

Every working collective must, if it has not done it so far, face its own realistic economic situation and assess its chances which will constantly be verified on the market in an increasingly strict manner, said Raif Dizdarevic.

The economic reform is also the reform of our behavior on the international economic scene. It should stimulate us for an active and aggressive performance on the world market, when we become exposed to world competition, to its criteria and encouragements, keeping abreast of everything which speedy scientific-technological development brings and requires. We are aware of the high price of developing autarchy and of getting rid of healthy impulses coming from the world market.

Dizdarevic placed special emphasis on the fact that Yugoslavia is interested in developing the broadest economic cooperation on the basis of mutual interests and in the conditions of the world market, with the existing European integration and with other economic groupings, with neighbors and with our partners on all continents. The more stable, diversified, and long-term our economic relations with all partners, the more in keeping they will be with our desire for speedier and more modern economic progress.

In this context, we wish to have more comprehensive and better quality cooperation with developing countries with which we have so much in common. This cooperation is not only necessary but also a possibility which has not yet been sufficiently exploited. The strategy of developing countries jointly relying upon their own resources by means of the speedier development of mutual cooperation is not isolationism [as received]; on the contrary, it can only be beneficial in the sense that they could become partners with developed countries, said Dizdarevic.

This country has always had the strength and ability to solve and has always solved its most important problems. It has them now. What we can see at the Zagreb fair is only a part of what we have achieved and what we are capable of doing. The achieved socioeconomic transformation and socialist self-managing democratic development of federative Yugoslavia has become deeply rooted and its widespread roots are deeper and stronger than many people think. According to the president of the SFRY Presidency we are open the world and need to be included to a greater degree in world economic currents. The world for its part needs a stable Yugoslavia. This is also indicated by yesterday's unanimous appeal to Yugoslavia from the nonaligned ministerial conference in Nicosia to be the host of the ninth summit. We value highly this honor which shows how others view our abilities.

By maximum use of what we have achieved, by uncompromising insistence on the responsibility of everyone for joint interests, and by the united activity of everyone in the country for the implementation of the reform, I wish to stress in particular that by opening up prospects for highly-skilled, young, and able cadres who do not owe anyone for their own or others' mistakes, and who will without any effort come to grips with all that is hindering the further development of society, I am sure that we can overcome the present problems.

I wish all our economists, and the businessmen from many countries gathered at this event a great deal of success and good business results. I am convinced that the resolve of the Yugoslav economy will be reaffirmed on this occasion with regard to its securing a better place on the world economic scene—a place which it should take, considering its manpower and material potential and efforts, said Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, opening this year's Zagreb autumn grand fair today.

Lazar Mojsov Leaves for DPRK Via Moscow

LD0409100388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee, left for Pyongyang on a scheduled flight via Moscow today to attend the celebration marking the 40th anniversary of the DPRK. He will represent the

SFRY Presidency and the LCY. The seeing off ceremony was attended by officials in the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, as well as of the embassies of the USSR and the DPRK.

Loncar Talks With Colombian Foreign Minister

LD0309043088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Colombia are prepared to strength comprehensive mutual relations, especially in the sphere of economic cooperation, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Colombian Foreign Minister Julio Londono Paredes stressed here today.

During their first exchange of views with the framework of Londono's official visit to Yugoslavia, it was stressed that the complementary nature of the two economies provides broad scope for improving trade and introducing higher forms of Yugoslav-Colombian economic integration. Up to now, economic relations have been very modest indeed, and have been reduced to about $30 million-worth of trade in both directions annually. Loncar and Londono therefore stressed that it would be useful to subsume industrial cooperation deals and joint enterprises and ventures within the sphere of bilateral economic cooperation.

It is the assessment of the two ministers that overall Yugoslav-Colombian relations are developing positively, and here emphasis was placed on the importance of good political understanding and the wish of both countries to further improve mutual relations in every respect.

There was also an exchange of views on the current international situation and the newly created conditions [passage indistinct]

Mikulic Receives Paredes

LD0309043988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today, FEC President Branko Mikulic received Colombian Foreign Minister Julio Londono Paredes, who is on a visit to Yugoslavia. Also participating in the talks was Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The FEC president and the Colombian minister made the assessment that political relations between Yugoslavia and Colombia are proceeding well. They called for bilateral economic cooperation to be raised to a higher level. They stressed that important opportunities exist for this on the basis of the complementary nature of the two economies and that there is mutual interest in promoting economic cooperation, particularly by developing its higher forms.

Branko Mikulic said that Yugoslav work organizations are interested in participating in setting up various programs in Colombia, in joint investments, in exporting goods and equipment to Colombia, and in the import of Colombian goods. Mikulic and Londono also exchanged views on the activities of the nonaligned countries prior to their ministerial conference in Cyprus.

Dizdarevic Receives Minister

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[Text] Belgrade, 2 Sep (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, President of the SFRY Presidency received Colombian Foreign Minister Julio Londono Paredes today.

In the talks, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, both sides expressed their desire and readiness for further developing Yugoslav-Colombian friendly relations and cooperation, characterized by traditional closeness and mutual respect. Both sides expressed their conviction that greater efforts should be made in relations between the two countries to exploit the increasingly favorable possibilities for cooperation, which would be in the interests of both sides. The assessment was made that Minister Londono's current visit provides such an impetus for more intensive development, especially in economic cooperation. It was said that in this sphere, it is vital to overcome more rapidly the classical forms of trade and to find more modern forms of integrating the economies of the two countries.

A positive assessment was made of the present developments in international relations, which encompass not only relations between the big powers, but also the broader area of international life and which offer scope for the more rapid solution of current burning international problems: disarmament, the abolition of crisis flashpoints, peace, security, and particularly the economic progress of the developing countries, and with in this framework, the possibility for even more extensive cooperation between Colombia and Yugoslavia, especially in the Nonaligned Movement.

Speaking about the international situation, President Dizdarevic, particularly stressed the importance in this process of the forthcoming ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries in Cyprus which, in implementing the aims of the movement, should contribute to the further adaptation of the work methods and content of the Nonaligned Movement's activities.

The talks were attended by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.